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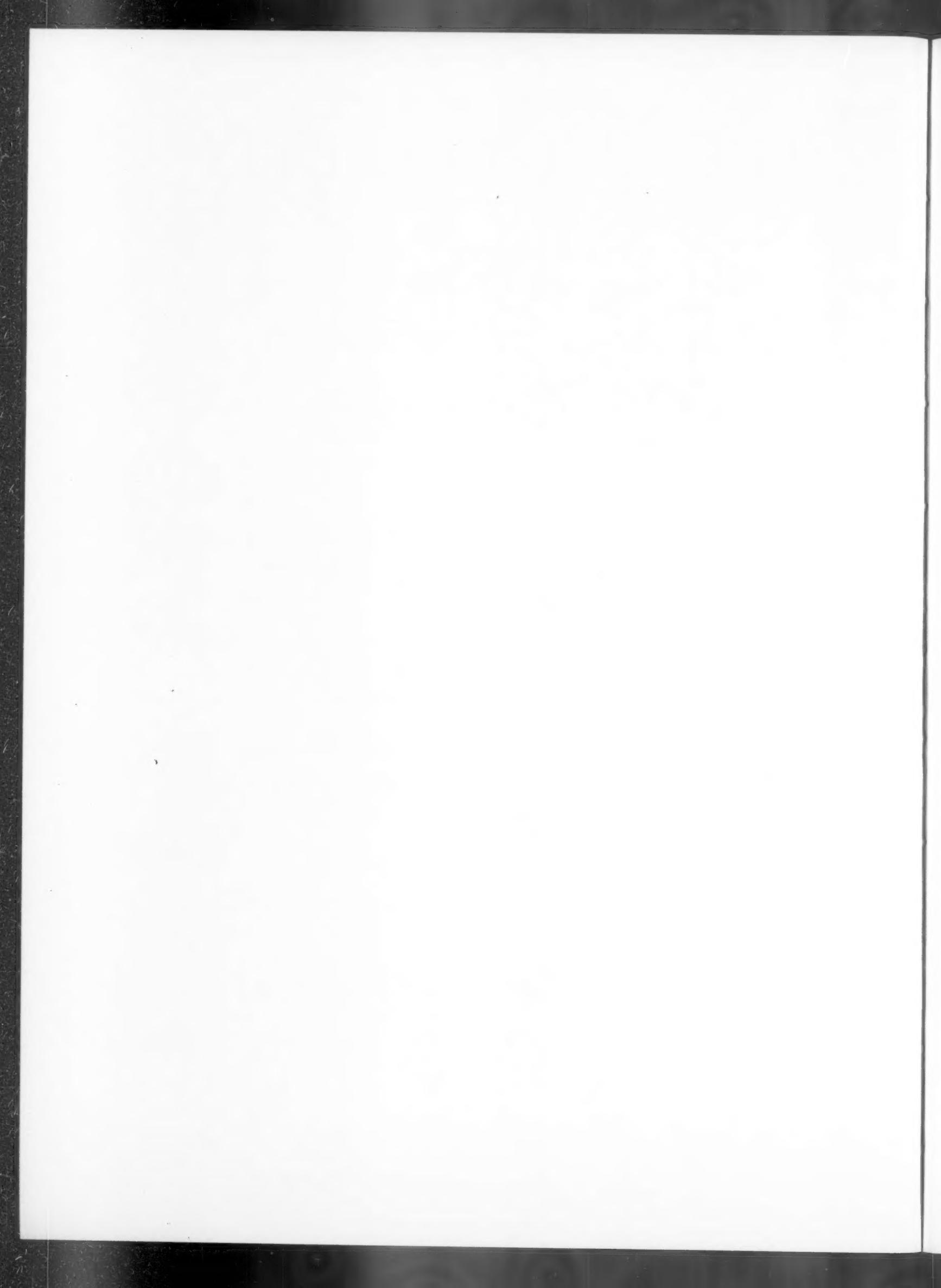
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SOME NEW ATTRIBUTIONS TO LORENZO MONACO*

MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA

LORENZO MONACO is the most important Quattrocento painter in Florence before Masolino and Masaccio. It is therefore surprising to find that so little is known about his life and works. Few facts are known about him.¹ He was born in Siena, and came to Florence at an unknown date. In Florence he lived in the parish of San Michele Visdomini until he entered the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1390. His secular name was Piero di Giovanni, and he changed it to Lorenzo when he became a monk at Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1391 after a year there as a novice. In 1392 he was ordained subdeacon and in 1396, deacon. In 1406 he is said to have been living in the parish of San Bartolo al Corso. The date of his departure from the monastery is not specified,² nor are the reasons for his leaving. Vasari tells us that he left on account of his poor health. In 1414 he bought a house from the Monastery, opposite Santa Maria Nova, and he lived there until his death. The exact date of his death is unknown. He was still alive in 1422, and he must have died between 1422 and 1424.³

Only two documented paintings by him are preserved: the altarpiece of Monteoliveto, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, which was commissioned from him in 1406 and completed in 1410,⁴ and the *Coronation of the Virgin* from Santa Maria degli Angeli, now also in the Uffizi, which is signed by the artist and dated 1414.⁵ On the basis of these two documented works a considerable number of panel paintings, frescoes, and illuminations have been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco.

His career has been divided by Signora Francini Ciaranfi into three periods: a formative period, prior to 1400; a second period, of 1400-1413 (terminated by the signed painting in the Uffizi);

* I wish to give my warmest thanks to my mother, who has helped me with untiring patience and unfailing enthusiasm in the research for this article. For the beautiful photographs of Lorenzo Monaco's works, thanks are due to Mr. Georges Wildenstein, to the National Gallery in Washington, to the Cleveland Museum, and to the photographers Cav. Mario Sansoni and the staff of the Gabinetto Fotografico della Soprintendenza alle Belle Arti in Florence. Miss Grace Hoffman has kindly made the necessary revisions in the English form of this paper. I am also grateful to Dr. James Ackerman for many helpful suggestions and to Professor Mario Salmi for finding the time to read my article and for giving me the encouragement to publish my findings.

1. The documents regarding Lorenzo's life and works are published in the excellent monograph by Sirèn (*Don Lorenzo Monaco*, Strasbourg, 1905).

2. It has usually been assumed that Lorenzo Monaco left the Monastery in 1396 because a Piero di Giovanni from the parish of San Michele Visdomini—Lorenzo's name and parish church before he entered the Monastery—was registered in 1396 in the painter's guild (M. Gualandi, *Memorie originali italiane risguardanti le belle arti*, ser. 6, Bologna, 1845, p. 187). However, in a document of 1406 Lorenzo is said to have been living in the parish of San Bartolo al Corso after he left the Monastery, and a Piero di Giovanni, qualified as a painter, was registered in the painter's guild in 1402 (Florence, State Archives, Matricole dell' Accademia del Disegno, Compagnia dei Pittori, vol. 1, fol. 14v). If Lorenzo Monaco is the latter Piero di Giovanni, the year 1396 can no longer be accepted as the date of his departure from the Monastery. However, it is probable that he left before 1398. Among the documents in the State Archives in Florence (Pergamene Filza 71, p. 175, May 5, 1395) there is a legal document witnessed by the Abbot of the Monastery, Silvestro dei Gherarducci, and

by other monks. The name of Don Lorenzo di Giovanni is not in the list of witnesses. In an earlier document, dated March 7, 1393 (Filza 71, fol. 161v), the name of Don Lorenzo di Giovanni is included among the witnesses. Since Lorenzo was ordained a deacon on February 26, 1396, he must have left the Monastery some time between that date and May 5, 1398.

3. The ledger of monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli registers Lorenzo's death on May 24, but leaves a blank for the year. In 1422 Lorenzo received payments for an altarpiece he painted for Sant'Egidio, and in that same year he was being considered as a possible candidate for the commission of an altarpiece in the Chapel of St. Lawrence in the Cathedral of Florence (for the documents on the Sant'Egidio altarpiece see Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 183-184, doc. x; for the document on the altarpiece for the Cathedral of Florence, see G. Vasari, *Le Vite . . .*, Gaetano Milanesi, ed., II, Florence, 1878, p. 25, n. 2). Lorenzo Monaco is not actually mentioned in the document for the Cathedral of Florence, but the words "Frate degli Angeli" must surely refer to him, as he was the most important painter among the monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli at that time. A reference to any other monastic painter of that Monastery without mention of his name would have been ambiguous during Lorenzo's lifetime. Lorenzo must have died before the second semester of 1424, because his name is not included in the volume of death declarations for the years 1424-1430 (Florence, State Archives, Grascia Morti, vol. 3). The volume with the death declarations between 1412 and the second semester of 1424 is missing. Therefore it is possible that Lorenzo Monaco died on May 24, 1424.

4. Sirèn, *op.cit.*, p. 182, no. VIII.

5. The *Coronation of the Virgin* is dated February 1413, Florentine style. The year began in Florence with the feast of the Annunciation, March 25.

and a third period, from 1413 up to his death.⁶ His first period seems to have been a pitfall for recent art critics. The only documented work of that time is the altarpiece for the Ardinghelli Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, painted between 1399 and 1400. Since that painting is now unfortunately lost,⁷ our knowledge of this period must be established upon attributions made on the basis of stylistic comparisons with later works. Several panel paintings, frescoes, and book illuminations have been attributed to his formative years. Of these I shall consider only the miniatures discussed by Signora Francini Ciaranfi because they agree stylistically with his signed and documented works and also because they help us in the attribution of some other miniatures.⁸ The new miniatures which I intend to attribute to Lorenzo Monaco's early period are: a *St. John the Evangelist* on fol. 105r of Cod. C 71 in the Bargello Museum in Florence; a praying *Tobit* on fol. 20r of Corale 5 (Fig. 21) and a *St. John the Evangelist*, dated 1396, on fol. 33r of Corale 1 (Fig. 19), both in the Laurentian Library. I will also add tentatively two more works, which I am not sure are entirely by the artist: a *St. Andrew* on fol. 210r of Cod. C 71 in the Bargello Museum in Florence (Fig. 23) and a cut miniature with a *Prophet* in the Suermondt Museum in Aachen (Germany).

The second period is the best known of Lorenzo's career. It includes the two documented altarpieces of Santa Maria degli Angeli and Monteoliveto. On the basis of stylistic comparisons with these two works, several other paintings have been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco. Out of these I will select a few dated paintings and illuminations, the attribution of which has never been disputed: a *Pietà* in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, dated 1404; an altarpiece in Empoli, also dated 1404 (Fig. 1); a diptych in the Louvre, dated 1408 (Fig. 4); the documented Monteoliveto altarpiece in the Uffizi, dated 1406-1410 (Figs. 16, 18); and the signed *Coronation of the Virgin*, dated 1414 (Figs. 2, 14, 15). These paintings all agree in style, and therefore they can be accepted as autograph works by the master. The Saints and Prophets in Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library in Florence can also be accepted as autographs, but the date of the decorated letters in the manuscript—1409—cannot be accepted for the figures.⁹ They belong stylistically to a later period, as I will try to prove presently. I ascribe to Lorenzo Monaco in this period a miniature on fol. 20r of Corale 7 in the Laurentian Library, dated 1406 (Fig. 17); a cut miniature with the *God the Father and Christ* in the Georges Wildenstein Collection in Paris (Fig. 12); and some miniatures in Cod. G 73 in the Bargello Museum in Florence, which were probably executed in the workshop of Lorenzo Monaco under the master's supervision and possibly also designed by him (Fig. 11).

Lorenzo Monaco's third period is poorly documented. We know that between 1420 and 1422 he was paid for an altarpiece he painted for Sant'Egidio;¹⁰ the *Adoration of the Magi* now in the Uffizi has been thought to be that documented painting.¹¹ Some frescoes in the Bartolini Chapel in Santa Trinità in Florence and an *Annunciation* in the same chapel are usually considered his latest works, but the documents, which do not mention Lorenzo, only tell us that the Chapel was decorated after 1407 and before 1434.¹² Vasari mentions the Chapel merely in passing, while earlier

6. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 285-291.

7. Some critics have identified the *Annunciation* in the Stoclet Collection with the documented painting of 1399-1400 (B. Berenson, "Un nuovo Lorenzo Monaco," *Rivista d'Arte*, vi, 1909, pp. 3-4), but the Stoclet *Annunciation* is by Matteo Torelli. My article on Matteo Torelli—a heretofore unknown follower of Lorenzo Monaco—will appear in *Commentari*. The documents on the Carmine altarpiece of 1399-1400 by Lorenzo Monaco are given by Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 181-182, doc. VII.

8. M. L. Ciaranfi, "Lorenzo Monaco miniatore," *L'Arte*, XXXV, 1932, pp. 285-317; 379-399.

9. The date in a manuscript is usually its date of completion.

However this is not the case for the manuscripts of Santa Maria degli Angeli, where the dates are mostly inscribed in initial letters. The latter were painted before the illuminations, as can be proved by the overlappings of the figures on the letters and by the fact that one manuscript, Corale 18, shows completed decorated letters, but has blanks for the illuminations. In Corale 4 the date 1410 is inscribed in a letter, but documents of payment for the illuminations figure in the years 1505 and 1506.

10. The documents are given in Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 183-184, doc. x.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185, doc. xi.

authors speak solely of the *Marriage of the Virgin* in this fresco series.¹³ Signora Ciaranfi adds to these attributions the miniatures of Cod. E 70 in the Bargello Museum, which she dates 1412-1422 (Fig. 9), and those of Cod. H 74, also in the Bargello Museum, which she dates 1413 (Fig. 10).¹⁴ Cod. E 70 contains twelve miniatures, and three of these can be attributed with some certainty to Lorenzo Monaco. Of the others, one is modern, seven were commissioned from Matteo Torelli in 1413,¹⁵ and one is so much damaged that it is difficult to pass judgment on its style. I will give later my reasons for dating the three miniatures by Lorenzo Monaco around 1420-1422. Also the miniatures of Cod. H 74 are not entirely by Lorenzo Monaco. His share in that manuscript can be dated in the last years of his life, around 1423 or 1424. A *Prophet* in the Rosenwald Collection (Fig. 6), on loan in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (B-15887), is the work of Lorenzo Monaco in the years 1423-1424, like the miniatures in Cod. H 74, from which manuscript the Washington *Prophet* probably comes. I assign the Saints and Prophets of Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library to this third period and date them around 1415-1422 (Fig. 7). A *Prophet* in the Cleveland Museum (No. 49,536) is also connected with the Prophets of Corale 3 and can be attributed to Lorenzo Monaco's latest period (Fig. 8). It was probably executed by Matteo Torelli under the supervision of Lorenzo Monaco.

To prove my new attributions and the partly revised chronology of the artist's works I will first establish a relationship between the two documented works and the most important paintings in the last period of the artist. Then I will try to establish a relative chronology among these last works. Thirdly I will discuss the works of the second period, and finally I will deal with the first period. The reason for discussing Lorenzo's works in such an unorthodox way is that the two documented works were painted at about the same time (1406-1410 and 1414) and therefore do not provide a clear idea of the artist's stylistic development. However, if we compare these paintings with others which can be ascertained to be by the master on stylistic grounds and which can be approximately dated, we shall have a basis on which to work out a chronology. The second and third period of the artist's career cover a span of about twenty years. When we know the direction of the evolution of the master's style, it will be easier to reconstruct the earliest period, which is always the most difficult part in an artist's career. I cannot accept Sirèn's reconstruction of Lorenzo's early period or the works that have been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco on the basis of Sirèn's lists because they are too inclusive and attribute to the master works that belong to his school or to other contemporary artists.¹⁶ A complete revision of Lorenzo's oeuvre, however much needed, is beyond the scope of my study. I propose only to make some new attributions and to establish their chronology. I will therefore select among the attributed works only the dated ones that I think are by the artist and that will help in the attribution and dating of the works I attribute to him.

The *Annunciation* in the Bartolini Chapel in Santa Trinità in Florence is the only painting in

¹³ G. Vasari, *Le Vite . . .*, ed. Milanesi, II, p. 21. Two versions of the Libro d'Antonio Billi, written in the sixteenth century, are given by Sirèn, *op.cit.*, p. 180, doc. IV. See also K. Frey, *Il libro di Antonio Billi*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 18f.

¹⁴ Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 379-383, 393-397.

¹⁵ The document of commission is in Florence (State Archives, Santa Maria Nova, vol. 31, Ricordanze di Messer Piero Mini Spedalingo [1399-1413], Libro Primo fol. 46): "Ricordo che adi VIII di Luglio 1413 mandai a matheo di Filippo miniatore quaderni x del Comune di Sci notturno Che comincia. Il Comune degli Apostoli/ e finisce/antifona/ In odorem unguentorum tuorum Cur/ ne quili x quaderni sono. 7. mini di pennello/ et 29 Refessi/ 212 fessi d'uno colore/ Et 257/minuti/per quello pregio abiamo segnato dacordo in sugli altri a facti nel decto libro/ salvo non/ e/ facto pacto di quelli di pennello." I have transcribed the original document with its peculiar spelling, its mistakes, and the peculiar divid-

ing lines. According to this document Matteo Torelli received on July 8, 1413 ten signatures of the "Comune dei Santi notturno" which begins with the feast of the Apostles. In these ten signatures Torelli was supposed to paint seven illuminations. He was also supposed to repaint 29 letters, to paint 212 monochrome letters and 257 small letters according to an agreement already signed. The earlier agreement is now lost. The Comune dei Santi is Cod. E 70 in the Bargello Museum, which begins with the feast of the Apostles and comes from Santa Maria Nova. Seven illuminations in this manuscript are certainly all by the same hand. A full discussion of the miniatures by Torelli in this choir book will be published in my forthcoming article on this artist in *Commentari*.

¹⁶ Some of these works can now be ascribed to Matteo Torelli on the basis of stylistic comparisons with the seven documented illuminations of Cod. E 70 in the Bargello Museum (see note 15 above).

Lorenzo's last period the date of which can be established with a certain accuracy. The authorship has never been disputed, and I do not think that there is any ground for doubt about this beautiful work. It reveals Lorenzo's hand both in its high quality and in details of form. The proportions of the figures, the intense psychological response of one person to another in the scene, the handling of the drapery, the facial types, fully agree with the corresponding qualities in the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*. A comparison between the head of the Annunciate Madonna with that of the Angel who kneels behind Christ in the Uffizi *Coronation* would be sufficient to show us the identity of hand. All critics agree that this *Annunciation* belongs in the last period of the artist, and the painting is usually dated between 1420 (the usually accepted date for the decoration of the Bartolini Chapel) and 1425 (the presumed year of Lorenzo's death). The date 1420, however, is arbitrary, because the documents tell us only that the frescoes were painted between 1407 and 1434.¹⁷ The death of the artist, which probably occurred on May 24, 1424,¹⁸ provides a *terminus ante quem* for the painting.

I believe that the *terminus post quem* is provided by the *Adoration of the Magi* by Gentile da Fabriano, dated 1423, now in the Uffizi, which was made for the sacristy of Santa Trinità and bears the following inscription: "Opus Gentili de Fabriano MCCCCXXIII Mensis Maio [sic]."¹⁹ The motif of the climbing vines in the background of the Santa Trinità *Annunciation* is certainly derived from Gentile da Fabriano. We do not find it elsewhere in Lorenzo's works, while the motif is a favorite with Gentile, who, in his *Adoration* of 1423, painted climbing roses and morning glories at the sides of the frame. In the Yale *Madonna* Gentile intertwined vines with the architecture of the throne; while in the Perugia *Madonna* the vines grow from under the throne and form a dense thicket behind it. The motif of the climbing vine grows out of Gentile's interest in flowers and vegetation, an interest which he may have derived from the Venetian tradition. (Several Venetian paintings of the late Trecento show the Virgin seated in a meadow. It is a motif akin to that of the Virgin in the enclosed garden, but it lacks its essential element, the enclosure). We find plants and flowers in almost all the works by Gentile da Fabriano. Lorenzo's landscapes, by contrast, grow out of the Florentine tradition and include mostly barren rocks and architecture. Lorenzo does not seem to have had a particular interest in nature, and his landscapes are merely sketched as symbolic settings for his figures. In the Santa Trinità *Annunciation*, however, there is a thorough transformation in his approach. The scene is imagined within a building which opens up at the center into a garden, a very important innovation in the theme of the Annunciation in Florence. It later finds favor with Fra Angelico,²⁰ Domenico Veneziano,²¹ and other Quattrocento painters. Another influence from Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* is found in the predella of the Santa Trinità *Annunciation*, where the central group of the Madonna and Child on the donkey in the *Flight into Egypt* is derived from Gentile's similar group. On the other hand, the influence was mutual because Gentile derived his nocturnal representation of the *Nativity* in the predella of his *Adoration* from Lorenzo Monaco, who had repeated this theme time and again, and had shown a special interest in nocturnal scenes since his Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1414. It is also possible that Gentile da Fabriano conceived his group of horses with a dog in competition with Lorenzo's group in the *Adoration of the Magi* now in the Uffizi. If Lorenzo Monaco died on May 24, 1424, we must date his Santa Trinità *Annunciation* in the years 1423-1424.

17. Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-185, doc. xi.

18. See note 3 above.

19. R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, VIII, 1927, p. 4.

20. In the shutters from Santissima Annunziata, now in the San Marco Museum in Florence.

21. In the predella scene from the altarpiece of Santa Lucia

dei Magnolli by Domenico Veneziano, now in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. The setting of the three Annunciations by Domenico Veneziano, Lorenzo Monaco, and Fra Angelico are reproduced and discussed in J. R. Spencer, "Spatial Imagery of the Annunciation in Fifteenth Century Florence," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVII, 1955, pp. 273ff.

The frescoes in the Bartolini Chapel in Santa Trinità must have been begun before the altarpiece with the Annunciation, since the space reserved on the wall is not of the exact dimensions of the altarpiece. A blank space shows on top, and the sides of the *Annunciation* overlap part of the adjoining frescoes. These differences in measurements cannot be explained by the fact that the altarpiece originally had a different shape: its width is conditioned by the dimensions of the central panel, which does not seem to have been widened. The frescoes, judging from their style, date between the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* (1420-1422) and the Santa Trinità *Annunciation*, which I dated 1423-1424. The series of frescoes includes *Joachim's Offering*, *Rejection of the Offering*, *Joachim's Sacrifice*, the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, an unidentified scene, the *Birth of the Virgin*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Marriage*, and *Death*. Standing figures and heads are painted in the arch of the vault at the entrance of the chapel, and four *Prophets* are painted in the ceiling. In this cycle of frescoes Lorenzo Monaco is responsible only for the *Birth of the Virgin* and *Marriage*. The rest is for the most part the work of Lorenzo's assistant Matteo Torelli.²² Some of the figures in the *Marriage of the Virgin*—the group of women behind St. Joseph, for instance—are closely reminiscent of the figures behind the Magi in Lorenzo Monaco's Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi*. They show the same roundness in the modeling and the same sculptural compactness of the body. The architectural setting shows a greater spatial feeling than in the *Adoration of the Magi*, but does not yet contain the figures, as it does in the Santa Trinità *Annunciation*. Therefore we may date the fresco with the *Marriage of the Virgin* around 1422-1423.

The attribution of the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* to Lorenzo Monaco can be proved by comparing its figures to those of the Uffizi *Coronation*: the two Madonnas, the standing Magus to the figure of Christ, and the first kneeling Magus to the side Saints.

Of the innumerable works attributed to the second period of Lorenzo's career I select the Empoli *Madonna*, dated 1404 (Fig. 1),²³ and the Louvre diptych, dated 1408 (Fig. 4).²⁴ The head of the Empoli *Madonna* has been copied almost literally in the Monteoliveto altarpiece and shows the same high quality and the same mixture of stern and appealing expression. Therefore we may readily accept this work as autograph. The frame and shape of the Louvre diptych is peculiar, and the date is inscribed in a kind of predella in the frame (Lorenzo Monaco usually dated his paintings on the frame). A comparison between the sleeping St. Peter in the diptych and the Prophet above St. Andrew and St. Benedict in the Monteoliveto altarpiece shows that not only is the Louvre painting by Lorenzo Monaco, but that it should not date in a period too far removed from the Monteoliveto altarpiece. The date inscribed below the Louvre diptych is, therefore, the date of the painting.

Let us now examine the Empoli *Madonna*, dated 1404 (Fig. 1); the Louvre diptych, dated 1408 (Fig. 4); the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*, dated 1413 (Fig. 2); the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* (datable 1420-1422 if it is the Sant'Egidio altarpiece) (Fig. 3); and the fresco with the *Marriage of the Virgin* in Santa Trinità (Fig. 5), datable 1422-1423. These works show a unity of style but are differentiated by an ever-increasing search for plastic values and a deepening of psychological insight. The Empoli *Madonna* (Fig. 1) still shows a Trecento composition, and in spite of the plastic definition of the legs of the lovely Christ Child, the forms are still tied to the surface of the painting. The same can be said of the Louvre diptych (Fig. 4). The figures there are not given enough space for movement, and in spite of the dramatic thrust of Christ's figure, we do not get the impression of movement in depth and of atmosphere around the figures.

22. A full discussion of Matteo Torelli will appear elsewhere. For our purpose it will be sufficient to point out here that the basis for my attribution of these frescoes to Torelli is the flat treatment of the figures, the schematization both in the draperies and in the architecture, and a mild and coy expression in the faces. The figures lack in general the plastic

treatment and intense expression of emotion of Lorenzo Monaco. A comparison with the two frescoes by Lorenzo in that series will show the striking differences.

23. Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-41 and pl. VII.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63 and pl. XX.

The drapery is still conceived with the Trecento canons of contrasts between dark and light zones next to each other, without volume. In the Uffizi *Coronation* (Fig. 2) the forms begin to emerge plastically within the figures, but the figures themselves are still conceived with the old Trecento canons of surface decoration and crowding of space in the foreground. The light envelops the figures and gives volume, density, and weight to the folds of the drapery, but the crowding of the figures annuls its spatial effects.²⁵

In the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 3) the figures emerge in light, in violent contrast with the dark background. Their forms are rounded not only by light, but also by varying degrees of shadow, and they move freely in space, even if they are still crowded; the rear figures are modeled with effects of crepuscular light that we find again in the Santa Trinità fresco with the *Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 5). The colors have also been toned down; a coral red with rosy high lights is favored. The figure is now conceived as an entity which moves in space and is surrounded by atmosphere. This is an essential quality which distinguishes the late works by Lorenzo Monaco from his other works. It is because of this quality that we must date the Saints and Prophets by Lorenzo Monaco in Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library between the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Marriage of the Virgin*. In examining, for instance, the *Saint* on fol. 35r of this manuscript (Fig. 7) we find a style very similar to that of the *Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 5), in spite of the great differences in size and technique. (Compare the head of the *Saint* with that of the High Priest in the *Marriage of the Virgin*.) The drapery has lost the cutting edges of the Empoli *Madonna* (Fig. 1) and of the Louvre diptych (Fig. 4) and now falls with soft folds that envelop the forms. The figure moves freely in space and gives us a convincing impression of the atmosphere around it. The facial expression no longer exemplifies the dramatic extroversion of the mature period of Lorenzo Monaco but has the sad and tired, more human quality of his old age. The hair has lost the graphic hardness that could still be noticed in the *Adoration of the Magi*, and becomes a fluffy mass of curls that rests softly on the skin, much in the way that it does in the Santa Trinità *Marriage of the Virgin* (Fig. 5). The finest works of Lorenzo Monaco's distinguished career are those of his old age. The *Adoration of the Magi* and the two frescoes with the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Marriage* in Santa Trinità are his masterpieces, and the Saints and Prophets from Corale 3 can be ranked among the masterpieces of Italian illumination.²⁶

25. I cannot accept as autographs by Lorenzo Monaco the *Coronation of the Virgin* and the side wings with Saints in the National Gallery in London. The London Saints combine the heavy contour line of the early period of Lorenzo Monaco, with the luministic effects of his middle period, and the work of a copyist is betrayed by the misunderstanding of anatomical details. His draperies are confused and it is impossible to distinguish the position of the legs unless we consider the different colors in which they are painted. The London *Coronation* and its side wings with Saints were probably painted in the 1420's, because they show the sharp silhouetting of light parts against the background which Lorenzo Monaco adopted in the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* and in the miniatures of Cod. E 70 in the Bargello Museum. The copyist, however, is unaware of the principle of Lorenzo's luministic studies and only imitates its effect. The predella scenes with episodes from the life of St. Benedict, which have been connected by Pudelko (*Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII, 1938, p. 247, and n. 32) with the London *Coronation* and attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, are also by an assistant. They may be by Matteo Torelli, although I am not sure of the attribution. The *Virgin of the Annunciation* in the Liechtenstein Collection, which Pudelko thought to be one of the gables of the London *Coronation*, seems to be by Matteo Torelli (reproduced *ibid.*, pp. 247, 249, pl. IV B). A full discussion of the London *Coronation*, its history, and suggestions as to its reconstruction was given by M. Davies, "Lorenzo Monaco's 'Coronation of the Virgin' in London," *La Critica d'Arte*, XXVIII, 1949, pp. 202-210, and

repeated by the same author in *National Gallery Catalogues, The Earlier Italian Schools*, London, 1951, pp. 238-241.

26. Corale 3 contains eight Prophets and nine scenes. There has been considerable disagreement as to the attribution of the miniatures in this manuscript. They were attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Sirèn (*op.cit.*, pp. 68-71), who gave to Lorenzo's school the miniature on fol. 27v. D'Ancona (*La miniatura fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, I, pp. 21-23) accepted Sirèn's attribution, but in the descriptive catalogue in the second volume of this book (p. 128, no. 130) he distinguished three hands: Lorenzo Monaco as the author of the scenes (except for fol. 27v which he gave to an inferior anonymous master) and a follower of Lorenzo Monaco as the author of the Prophets and Saints. Van Marle (*op.cit.*, IX, 1927, pp. 139-140) came back to Sirèn's attribution of all the miniatures in Corale 3 to Lorenzo Monaco. V. Golzio (*Lorenzo Monaco*, Rome, 1931, pp. 34-35) denied Lorenzo's authorship. Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, pp. 302-316, figs. 8-20) attributed to Lorenzo Monaco the Prophets and Saints, which she dated 1409 (the date inscribed in the manuscript) and ascribed the scenes to the "manner of Fra Angelico" dating them 1408-1409, or possibly later. The ascription of the Prophets to Lorenzo Monaco, with their date 1409, and of the scenes to the trend of Angelico was accepted by all later critics, although a considerable disagreement still remained in the specific attribution of the scenes and their dating. R. Longhi ("Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio," *La Critica d'Arte*, XXV-XXVI, 1940, p. 182 n. 15) forwarded tentatively the name of Battista di Biagio Sanguigni

An initial D with a Prophet (Fig. 8) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (No. 49,536) has been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco. I think that it was illuminated in Lorenzo's workshop around the same period as the Prophets and Saints of Corale 3. Its general forms are those of the master, but a flatness and schematization in the drapery, a certain mannerism in the bend of the body, the emphasis on the contour line, the superficial rendering of the expression and the sideways glance are evident signs of Matteo Torelli's authorship. A comparison with another cut miniature, a superb *Prophet* within an initial E in the Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art in Washington (B-15887), will show quite clearly the difference of hand. The master is distinguishable from his assistant by the powerful emotive quality of his figure, concentrated in prayer (Fig. 6), by the intimate relation between emotion and gesture and by the shimmering light on the surface of the fabrics, which differentiates the thin texture and light weight of the scarf from the heavy folds of the mantle. The Rosenwald *Prophet* (Fig. 6) recedes in space and his body is modeled by the fluid drapery. The Cleveland *Prophet* (Fig. 8) is flattened against its gold background and the forms do not emerge under the caress of light. The Rosenwald *Prophet* probably dates around 1423-1424, in the same period as Cod. H 74 in the Bargello Museum in Florence. It may even come from that manuscript, where several of the illuminations are missing.²⁷

The miniatures of Cod. E 70 in the Bargello Museum seem to have been done earlier than the Santa Trinità frescoes.²⁸ In the *Bishop Saint* on fol. 41v of Cod. E 70 (Fig. 9) the flesh is modeled with a compactness that almost recalls the hardness of ivory; while in the Santa Trinità frescoes and the miniatures of Corale 3 the hardness gives way to a subtle interplay of light and shadow on the slightly modulated surfaces. The glance has the penetrating sharpness that we find also in the figures that follow the Magi in the Uffizi *Adoration* (Fig. 3). This sharpness is obtained by placing a white speck in the darkened cavity of the orbit, immediately alongside the black speck of the iris (this feature in our Fig. 3, particularly in the two heads at the extreme right of the photograph, one partly cut by its edge, should be compared with the *Bishop Saint* of Fig. 9). The figure is sharply set off from the background by light—a characteristic of both the Uffizi *Adoration* (Fig. 3) and the miniature from Cod. E 70 (Fig. 9)—and it is surrounded by space. For these reasons we must date the miniatures by Lorenzo Monaco in Cod. E 70 at the end of the period

for the scenes and proposed to date them in the 1420's. B. Berenson (*Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1936, pp. 10-11, 257) forwarded tentatively the name of Andrea di Giusto for six of the scenes (in his previous English edition, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 299, he had given to Lorenzo Monaco three scenes and one Prophet). M. Salmi ("Problemi dell'Angelico," *Commentari*, I, 1950, pp. 75-78) attributed eight scenes to Fra Angelico himself, dating them in 1408-1409. J. Pope-Hennessy (*Fra Angelico*, London, 1952, p. 206) mentioned the previous opinions of critics, from Ciaranfi to Longhi, without taking a stand. L. Collobi Ragghianti ("Zanobi Strozzi pittore, 2," *La Critica d'Arte*, XXXIII, 1950, p. 25 n. 20 and "Studi Angelichiani," *La Critica d'Arte*, n.s. II, 1955, p. 43) connected the scenes with the tabernacle in Boston, Gardner Museum (usually ascribed to Fra Angelico), which she attributed to the school of Angelico. The date 1409 inscribed on fol. 3 of Corale 3 does not necessarily refer to the illuminations in that volume. We have seen how recent criticism agreed in dating the scenes in a period later than 1409. I think that Lorenzo's share also dates later than the year inscribed in the manuscript. Corale 3 is the third part of a Diurno Domenicale, of which Corale 4 is the fourth part. The first and second parts are now missing. Corale 4 bears the date 1410 on fol. 8v, but we know that the miniatures were painted by Attavante in 1505-1506, nearly one century later than the date inscribed in the manuscript (Florence, State Archives, Conventi Soppressi 86, Santa Maria degli Angeli, vol. 51, Debitori e Creditori, fol. 167, 1505: "Vante contro ascritto de avere adi 3 di marzio L ottanta

s. 10 sono per miniatura duno libro ciaffatto per insino questo di"). Since the miniatures in Corale 4 were executed long after the inscribed date, 1410, there are no grounds for assuming that those of Corale 3, which was part of the same Dominicale, are contemporary with its inscription of 1409. The style of the miniatures proves the contrary. The Prophets can be assigned to the period 1422-1423, possibly with the exception of fol. 83v, which seems to date slightly earlier (at any rate, later than the Uffizi *Coronation* of 1414). I will not discuss the scenes, because they are not by Lorenzo Monaco, although two were possibly begun by him.

27. The Cleveland *Prophet* is reproduced in the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XXXVII, March, 1950, cover. As far as I know, the Rosenwald *Prophet* is unpublished. Ironically enough, it is attributed to the "school of Lorenzo Monaco after 1409," while an ugly illumination by an imitator of the early style of Lorenzo Monaco in the same collection has been attributed to Lorenzo himself by E. Rosenthal, "Una pittura di Lorenzo Monaco scoperta recentemente," *Commentari*, VII, 1956, pp. 71-77.

28. Four miniatures of Cod. E 70 are reproduced in Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, figs. 13-16); one is reproduced in D'Ancona (*op.cit.*, pl. XLIII). D'Ancona ascribed the manuscript to the school of Lorenzo Monaco; while Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, p. 395) and M. Salmi (*La miniatura fiorentina gotica*, Rome, 1954, p. 45, pls. LI-LV) attributed it to Lorenzo himself. Berenson (*op.cit.*, Italian ed., p. 257) ascribed to Lorenzo fols. 41v, 52, 64, 74v, and 101v in this manuscript.

1413-1422 proposed by Ciaranfi.²⁹ Their style is more advanced than that of the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* (1414), and is closely related to the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* by Lorenzo Monaco, datable 1420-1422 (if it is the Sant'Egidio altarpiece).

Cod. H 74 in the Bargello Museum must date even later than Cod. E 70 and the Saints and Prophets of Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library.³⁰ Its style recalls that of the predella in the Santa Trinità *Annunciation* and we can date it, therefore, around or after 1423. The figures are more slender and the light glides over the bends of the folds creating a surface pattern, as in some figures of the Santa Trinità predella. In the *Annunciation* above this predella and in the figures of the Prophets above the *Annunciation*, the greater breadth and volume may be attributed to the larger scale of the figures. We cannot certainly date Cod. H 74 in the same period as the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*, as proposed by Ciaranfi.³¹ The miniature on fol. 131r of Cod. H 74 (Fig. 10) shows the "crepuscular" effects characteristic of Lorenzo's latest phase.³² The light glimmers on the folds with a peculiar evening dimness, and some parts of the body seem to recede into the background and to merge with it. This recession of forms and deep atmospheric space is certainly not visible in the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*, where the light shines brightly on the folds, giving them substance and weight. It is the bright daylight, not the dimming haziness of evening. The figures are sharply outlined and we are particularly aware of the cutting edge of the contour line and of the folds. The mellowness of old age which we detect in Lorenzo's handling of the figures in Cod. H 74 is absent from the *Coronation*, where we find instead the incisive character of maturity.

We are now faced with the problem of identifying the miniatures mentioned in the payment to Lorenzo Monaco in 1412-1413 for "figures he made in the miniatures of the Antiphonaries."³³ Since the style of Lorenzo's miniatures and that of his paintings usually synchronize, the miniatures of 1412-1413 for Santa Maria Nova should resemble his *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the Uffizi. For the reasons just stated, the miniatures of Cod. E 70 and Cod. H 74 in the Bargello Museum and those of Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library belong to a later period. The payments refer to figures in the miniatures, not to the miniatures themselves, and this may mean that Lorenzo designed the figures and left their execution to his assistants. One manuscript in the Bargello Museum, Cod. G 73, seems to have been illuminated by Lorenzo Monaco with the collaboration of helpers at about the same time as the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*.³⁴ In fol. 41v of this manuscript (Fig. 11), the *Saint* behind the initial letter I was surely designed by Lorenzo Monaco and its style recalls that of the Saints in the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 2). The face of the Saint and the way the light spreads on the surface of the folds in the drapery, giving them weight and volume, is characteristic of Lorenzo Monaco in this period. However, the quality of the figure is not as high as is usual in Lorenzo Monaco; the body has the sharply cut edges and the face has the bitter expression characteristic of one of Lorenzo's followers, Bartolomeo di Fruosino. Since Bartolomeo worked on several miniatures in this and other manuscripts now in the Bargello Museum, it is not unlikely that he worked also on this miniature.

Proceeding backwards in the career of Lorenzo Monaco, we may date around 1410 a cut minia-

29. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, p. 395.

30. Cod. H 74 was attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Sirèn (*op.cit.*, pp. 71-72). This attribution was accepted by D'Ancona (*op.cit.*, I, p. 23; and II, pp. 138-141, no. 146) and by Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, pp. 379-383). I do not accept all the miniatures as autographs by the master. I attribute to Lorenzo's school, among which Bartolomeo di Fruosino, fol. 3v, part of fols. 15, 23 and 79 v, three busts on fol. 104v, a *Monk* on fol. 107v, fol. 122v, part of fol. 125v and the *King* on fol. 153v. I consider the rest to be by Lorenzo Monaco and date it in the early 1420's, possibly around 1423-1424.

31. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 379-383 and figs. 3-10.

32. Other illuminations of Cod. H 74 were reproduced by Sirèn (*op.cit.*, pls. 26-27) and D'Ancona (*op.cit.*, pl. L).

33. The documents are given by Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pp. 182-183, doc. ix.

34. A *Prophet* on fol. 89v of Cod. G 73 is reproduced in D'Ancona, *op.cit.*, pl. XLVIII. D'Ancona distinguishes four hands in this manuscript and attributes to Lorenzo Monaco fols. 5v, 41v, 58v, 62, 75v, 89v, and 192. He gives the rest to three followers. Cod. G 73 had previously been ascribed to the school of Lorenzo by Sirèn (*op.cit.*, pp. 72-73) who suggested the name of the master himself for some of the scenes and for the *Prophet* on fol. 89. Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, p. 383) ascribes the manuscript to the school of Lorenzo (the call number G 79 which she gives is a misprint). Berenson ascribes to Lorenzo Monaco the Prophets and Monks.

ture in the Georges Wildenstein Collection in Paris (Fig. 12) that figured in the *Exposition du Livre Italien* in Paris in 1926 and was then called "Tuscan school of the fourteenth century."³⁵ I would attribute it without hesitation to Lorenzo Monaco. The miniature certainly dates before 1413, because it was copied by Matteo Torelli in his *Trinity* on fol. 101v of Cod. E 70 (Fig. 13), for which Torelli was paid in 1413.³⁶ Fig. 12 seems to date before the Blessing Christ in the central gable of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, signed by Lorenzo Monaco and dated 1414 (Fig. 14), and later than the Louvre diptych dated 1408 (Fig. 4). In the lower part of the body of the God the Father in the Wildenstein miniature (Fig. 12), as well as in the lower part of the body of the Virgin Annunciate in the right upper gable of the Uffizi *Coronation* (Fig. 15), the light glides over the surface of the figures, shining only on the edges of the folds, while the body is modeled with shadow. In the Louvre diptych (Fig. 4) the light shines on the folds without giving them volume and without modeling the body under them. The folds in the Louvre diptych are still conceived in the old Trecento tradition, with alternation of dark and light zones but without understanding of the principle that a solid body intercepts the light and is modeled by it. In the Wildenstein miniature the folds begin to emerge in space, aided by light. For this reason it probably was done at about the same time as the Monteoliveto altarpiece: before the *Coronation of the Virgin* and after the Louvre diptych. The face of the God the Father has the same youthful beauty tempered by sorrow which we notice in the Blessing Christ in the Monteoliveto altarpiece (Fig. 16), and it is softly modeled by light as in that altarpiece, but the sorrow is deepened in the Wildenstein miniature, and with cause, given its theme. Lorenzo Monaco never again reached that ethereal, poignant, and haunting quality of expression. The evocative effect of color should not be forgotten. The pale lavender robe and blue mantle of God the Father are set off in the Wildenstein miniature by the brilliancy of the gold, and the figure is framed by rays of light engraved in the gold. Much the same effect is reached in the Blessing Christ in the Uffizi altarpiece from Monteoliveto (Fig. 16). If we compare the latter with the Blessing Christ from the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 14) we see a totally different mood. In the Monteoliveto altarpiece the action is timeless; in the Uffizi *Coronation* it is momentary. Christ looks sideways as if he had been startled. The powerful concentration and focus of the glance indicate an alert moment of pause after action. The sharp light that bathes one side of the figure of Christ enhances this sense of reality. The arm of the Blessing Christ in the Uffizi *Coronation* overlaps his body, a further step in the direction toward spatial definition. The Uffizi *Coronation* is important because it is the first definite statement by Lorenzo Monaco motivated by a realistic approach to light and volume. His previous works led to it, but most of them are attempts in various directions, in which space and light are not yet conceived of as two coordinated parts of the same reality. That he profited from earlier failures can be observed in a miniature on fol. 20r of Corale 7 in the Laurentian Library (Fig. 17). The date, 1406, inscribed in an initial letter merely establishes a *terminus post quem* for the illuminations. The miniature on fol. 20r was surely done after the decoration of the initial (probably between 1406 and 1408, date of the Louvre diptych) since the initial is overlapped by David's musical instrument.³⁷ Only the miniature on fol. 20r of this manuscript belongs to Lorenzo Monaco; the others are by Bartolomeo di Fruosino. The Blessing Christ in the upper part of the miniature (Fig. 17) is beautifully rendered, while the figure of David in the lower part is marred by the unsuccessful foreshortening of the head. In spite of its defects, the miniature can surely be ascribed to Lorenzo Monaco. The faces are modeled like the faces of the two Prophets in the Monteoliveto altarpiece (Fig. 18) and the figures have comparable breadth. The head and hands of the Blessing Christ recall those of the Blessing Christ in the Monteoliveto altarpiece (Fig. 16). The hands of

35. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Exposition du Livre italien, Bois Colombe*, 1926, no. 181.
36. See note 15 above.

37. Corale 7 was published by D'Ancona (*op.cit.*, II, p. 129, no. 133) who ascribed it to the same artist as Corale 17 (*sic*, i.e. 13).

David were to be repeated later in the figures of St. John the Evangelist and St. Bartholomew behind him in the right wing of the Uffizi *Coronation* (Fig. 2). When the foreshortening of the head was undertaken again in a *Prophet* on fol. 46v of Corale 3, it was successfully achieved and was one of Lorenzo's masterpieces.³⁸ The miniature on fol. 20r of Corale 7 probably precedes the Louvre diptych because it shows a harder modeling. I suggest a date of 1406-1407.

We have now reached the most difficult period of Lorenzo Monaco's career, his early phase. The lack of documented works renders our search more difficult, and we must proceed with caution to avoid the pitfall of attributing to the master works that belong to his school or to his predecessors. It seems to me that all the recent endeavors to attribute works to this phase in Lorenzo's career³⁹ have failed because the attributions were based upon such undocumented works as the Oblate frescoes and the Bologna and Amsterdam Madonnas,⁴⁰ rather than upon the two documented works of the artist. As we have seen from the study of his works in the second and third periods, Lorenzo may have failed, but his works are never weak productions. His figures often have an appealing quality, but mildness is not one of his characteristics. The same is true of his early period.

A *St. John the Evangelist* on fol. 33r of Corale 1 (Fig. 19) can surely be ascribed to Lorenzo Monaco.⁴¹ To support the attribution it is enough to compare his beautiful head with the head of a *Prophet* from the Monteoliveto altarpiece (Fig. 18). We find the same lined forehead, sharp-edged eyebrows, slant of the eyes, and iris peeping from the narrow slit of the eyelids. There is also a like relationship between nose, beard, and mouth; and the halo has a similar, though simpler, pattern. The miniature, certainly earlier than the Monteoliveto altarpiece, was done after 1396, the date inscribed in a letter in the manuscript. Lorenzo may have painted it between 1396 and 1398, if he left the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the latter year.⁴² The graphic quality of the hair and beard and the uncertain treatment of the body and drapery seem to point to the earlier period of the artist's career, but after 1394 or 1395, the dates inscribed in the manuscripts attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Signora Francini Ciaranfi (Fig. 20).⁴³ The hard

38. The *Prophet* on fol. 46v of Corale 3 is reproduced in D'Ancona, (*op.cit.*, 1, pl. XXXVIII) who attributes it to an assistant of Lorenzo Monaco.

39. H. Gronau, "The Earliest Works of Lorenzo Monaco," *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 183-188, 216-222; Rosenthal, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-77; M. J. Eisenberg, "An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 49-52.

40. The Oblate frescoes were attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Sirèn (*op.cit.*, p. 22). Their attribution was contested by Pudelko (*op.cit.*, p. 237) who attributed them instead to Mariotto di Nardo.

The Amsterdam *Madonna* was published by van Marle (*op.cit.*, IX, p. 118 and fig. 77) when it was still in the Lanz Collection. It is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. I doubt its attribution to Lorenzo Monaco on the grounds that its drapery style with angular pockets lacks the fluency characteristic of Lorenzo Monaco. The figures have a flatness and lack the individuality of Lorenzo's works. The plasticity in the hands and face of the Madonna prevent its dating in Lorenzo's early period; while the angular treatment of the drapery prevents its classification with Lorenzo's later works. The decorative taste in the graphic patterns of the fabrics in the Virgin's dress and in the hanging behind her throne are also foreign to Lorenzo, who uses decoration more sparingly and gives more emphasis to the surface texture of a fabric. This *Madonna* must have been painted by a follower around 1406-1410 because the head of the Madonna bears a strong similarity to that of the Monteoliveto altarpiece.

The Bologna *Madonna* was first attributed to Lorenzo by P. Toesca ("Nuove opere di don Lorenzo Monaco," *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, pp. 171-172). It also resembles the Monteoliveto

altarpiece and probably dates in the same period, if not later. The figures have a coarseness and bulk which are quite foreign to the elegant style of Lorenzo. The drapery is again different from Lorenzo's, and the way the light catches on the rim of the folds only appears in Lorenzo's style around 1413 (*Uffizi Coronation*). The master of the Bologna *Madonna* has an unbending stiffness, in addition to his coarseness, and he favors graphic lines (see the sharp-edged sweep of the eyebrows, the trite treatment of the veil of the Virgin, the stiffness in the legs and feet of the Christ Child and their cutting outline). This *Madonna* is possibly by the same follower of Lorenzo Monaco who painted the London *Coronation* (see notes 25 and 61).

41. Corale 1 was published by D'Ancona (*op.cit.*, II, p. 125, no. 128) who said that it is by a forerunner of Lorenzo Monaco. Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, p. 301 n. 1) said that the *St. John* is by the same artist who illuminated the *Moses* on fol. 89 of Corale 13 (Fig. 25). Golzio (*op.cit.*, pp. 34, 37) placed Corale 1 close to Lorenzo Monaco. The iconography of the half-length *St. John the Evangelist* with his open book supported by the eagle, his attribute, probably derives from Taddeo Gaddi. The latter painted a similar *St. John* now in the Worcester Museum (published by R. Offner, "Due quadri inediti di Taddeo Gaddi," *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, pp. 120-123 and again, in English, in *Studies in Florentine Painting*, New York, 1927, pp. 61-63, fig. 5). Vasari (*op.cit.*, II, p. 18) tells us that Lorenzo Monaco was trained by Taddeo Gaddi. This is chronologically impossible, but it is not impossible that Lorenzo studied some of Taddeo's works after the latter's death.

42. See note 2 above.

43. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-302, figs. 3-6.

modeling of the hands, with the sharp bend of the fingers and heavy black outline, is characteristic of this early period. Lorenzo abandoned this treatment in his first dated paintings, the Empoli *Madonna* and the *Pietà* in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, both of 1404.⁴⁴

A praying *Tobit* on fol. 20r of Corale 5 (Fig. 21) also belongs to the early period of Lorenzo Monaco. Signora Francini Ciaranfi considered it to be the work of a Sienese imitator of Lorenzo Monaco because she found a difference in the coloring of the flesh and drapery from that of the *St. Jerome* in the same manuscript (Fig. 20).⁴⁵ It is true that the mantle of *Tobit* has a sulphur green color that is quite different from the lacquer red of the mantle of *St. Jerome*, and that the flesh tones are lighter and the face more plastically modeled. But I think that this is due to a difference in time between the two miniatures. Corale 5 is dated 1394 in one of its initial letters, but its illuminations are later and were painted at different times. The *Tobit* we just examined (Fig. 21) is later than the *St. Jerome* (Fig. 20); a third miniature with *St. Michael Defeating the Demons* on fol. 105r of the manuscript was probably painted by Matteo Torelli in the first or second decade of the fifteenth century. Its colors are those of Lorenzo Monaco and his school around 1420 or slightly earlier. The praying *Tobit* must have been painted not long before the *Agony in the Garden* in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence (Fig. 22). His head (Fig. 21) bears a close resemblance to that of Christ in the *Agony* (Fig. 22).

The *Agony* has sometimes been considered a school piece,⁴⁶ but I am convinced that it is by Lorenzo Monaco (though its predella is by a different hand). The drapery of Christ (Fig. 22) recalls that of the Christ in the Louvre diptych and the faces of the Apostles recall those of St. Peter and Christ in the *Pietà* of 1404 in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence. Some of the heads in the *Agony* can also be compared with some of the Saints at the sides of the Uffizi *Coronation*; and the head of the Angel who brings the chalice to Christ was repeated with slight variations in the kneeling Angels at the right of the Uffizi *Coronation*. For these reasons it seems to me that there is no doubt about Lorenzo Monaco's authorship of the *Agony*, and therefore of the praying *Tobit* which is closely connected with it.

I accept as autographs the miniatures attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Signora Ciaranfi.⁴⁷ Their style corresponds with that of the Saints at the sides of the signed *Coronation of the Virgin* and with that of the Empoli *Madonna*—compare the *St. Romualdus* of Corale 8 with the *St. John the Baptist* on the left side of the *Coronation* or with the *St. Andrew* on its right side; and compare the *St. Jerome* of Corale 5 (Fig. 20) with the Empoli *Madonna* (Fig. 1), especially the shaping of the nose, mouth, and eyes of the Christ Child. If we cannot accept for these miniatures an absolute date of 1394 and 1395 inscribed in the two manuscripts, we can at least assume a date 1394-1396. The *terminus post quem* is provided by the dates inscribed in the manuscripts, while the *terminus ante quem* is provided by the miniature with *St. John the Evangelist* in Corale 1, which I placed about 1396-1398.⁴⁸

A *St. John the Evangelist* on fol. 105r of Cod. C 71 in the Bargello Museum⁴⁹ is almost an identical repetition of the *St. John the Evangelist* of Corale 1 (Fig. 19). This Saint is shown in a three-quarter view as is the other, with his open book supported by his attribute, the eagle.

44. A *Virgin and Child* in the State Museum in Berlin bears an incomplete inscription, which has been repainted. Since this painting cannot offer us sure grounds for dating, I disregard it in my chronology. Sirèn published the Empoli *Madonna* (*op.cit.*, pp. 38-41) and the Academy *Pietà* (p. 37). As far as I know, Golzio (*op.cit.*, p. 60) is the only critic who doubts the ascription of the *Pietà* to Lorenzo Monaco, on the grounds of its excessive hardness.

45. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-292; D'Ancona (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 128-129, no. 131) says that the miniatures of Corale 5 are by the same artist who illuminated Corale 7 and 17 (*sic*, i.e. 13).

46. V. Marle, *op.cit.*, IX, p. 181, fig. 117, and Golzio,

op.cit., p. 60. The *Agony* was attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Toesca, *L'Arte*, 1904, pp. 172-174.

47. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 291-302.

48. See p. 184 above.

49. *St. John the Evangelist* is reproduced in D'Ancona, *op.cit.*, I, pl. XLII b. D'Ancona (*ibid.*, II, p. 133, no. 142) found all the miniatures of Cod. C 71 by the same unidentified hand, although he remarked that fol. 105 and 210 are finer. Ciaranfi (*op.cit.*, p. 384) said that Cod. C 71 dates before the miniatures by Lorenzo Monaco for Santa Maria Nova (1412-1413). Golzio (*op.cit.*, p. 43) said that this manuscript is finer, "more Sienese," than the others in the Bargello Museum.

However, the design is weaker, the anatomy of the body and of the arms of the Saint is uncertain, and the eagle is coarsely drawn. The head of *St. John* in Cod. C 71 is uncertain in its outline, and the features lack Lorenzo's usual sharpness. But in spite of these defects the Saint can be ascribed to Lorenzo Monaco, as its style, especially the rendering of the head and the hands, conforms to that of the other *St. John* and the Saints at the sides of the signed *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Uffizi. Comparing this Saint with the *St. Romualdus* on fol. 76 of Corale 8,⁵⁰ we notice formal similarities which ascribe the *St. John* to the same hand, but also differences that place it in an earlier period. I propose to date it between 1390 (when Lorenzo Monaco entered the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli) and 1394 (inscribed in Corale 5).

The *St. Andrew* on fol. 210 of Cod. C 71 (Fig. 21) is more problematic.⁵¹ Its style is blunter than is usual for Lorenzo Monaco and we notice signs of retouching and *pentimenti* in several places. The figure is designed with Lorenzo's characteristic grandeur and for this reason I hesitate to ascribe it to either a predecessor or a follower of the master. No artist in Lorenzo's circle or immediately preceding him shows such high quality. The upper part of the body recalls the *St. John* in the same manuscript (which I have ascribed to Lorenzo) and the folds in the left arm of the Saint recall those of the *St. Jerome* in Corale 5 (Fig. 20). The hands of the *St. Andrew* have a definition of planes characteristic of Lorenzo Monaco but absent from the works of his predecessors. The miniature can be placed between the *St. Jerome* on fol. 138 of Corale 5 (Fig. 20) and a *Saint* in the Morgan Library by "Silvestro dei Gherarducci" (Fig. 24).⁵² Because of its hybrid character I consider the *St. Andrew* to be one of the earliest works by Lorenzo Monaco, painted when he was still an apprentice of "Silvestro dei Gherarducci." The construction of the body is far from satisfactory and the corrections in the hands, face, and beard show that the artist was not yet sure of his technique. Yet there is already a grandeur and a concept of proportions which sets this work apart from the works of Lorenzo's predecessors. A comparison between the *St. Andrew* (Fig. 23) and a miniature of Moses (Fig. 25)⁵³ reveals the superiority of the *St. Andrew*. The *Moses* (fol. 89r of Corale 13) is certainly by a follower who worked after 1396, because the light surrounds the dark lines of the folds as in the *St. John the Evangelist* in Corale 1 (Fig. 19) and the hair is imitated from the same source. Lorenzo Monaco may have retouched the eyes of Moses, but the general character of the figure suggests the work of a copyist. The colors have the bright dusty aspect of those by Bartolomeo di Fruosino, who may be responsible for this miniature.

A *Prophet* in the Suermondt Museum in Aachen may also be by a follower of Lorenzo Monaco under the supervision of the master.⁵⁴ It may belong to the early years of the fifteenth century, because its style places it between the *St. John the Evangelist* of Corale 1 (Fig. 19) and the *Pietà* of 1404 in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence.⁵⁵ The scarf wound around the Prophet's neck is also used by Lorenzo Monaco in the Academy *Pietà*. This *Prophet* may have been cut from Corale 13, where folios 121 and 149 are missing, because the pen ornaments that decorate its initial recall the pen ornaments of the letter that encloses the *Moses* of Corale 13.

To conclude, I trust that my new attributions to Lorenzo Monaco not only have the interest of additions to the oeuvre of a great master but help to clarify some obscure phases in his career. The

50. The *St. Romualdus* (not Benedict) is reproduced in Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, p. 301, fig. 5.

51. For the opinions of critics on Cod. C 71, see note 49 above.

52. The Morgan *Saint* has been published by Salmi (*op.cit.*, p. 42, pl. XXXVII b), who assigned it merely to a "Florentine Orcagnesque master." This *Saint*, together with the other miniatures of the same series in the Morgan Library and the Victoria and Albert Museum will be discussed in my forthcoming article in *Rivista d'Arte*.

53. The *Moses* has not been published previously. D'Ancona

(*op.cit.*, II, p. 132, no. 140) gave it to the artist who illuminated Corale 7. D'Ancona mistakenly gives the call number Corale 17 instead of Corale 13 for the *Moses*. Corale 17 has no illumination. Ciaranfi, (*op.cit.*, p. 301 n. 1) gave it instead to the author of the *St. John* of Corale 1 (here attributed to Lorenzo Monaco).

54. I will not analyze the Aachen *Prophet* because I know it only from a photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, where it bears no attribution. As far as I know, this illumination is unpublished.

55. See notes 41 and 44 above.



1. Lorenzo Monaco, *Madonna and Child* (detail), dated 1404
Empoli, Collegiata (photo: Alinari)



2. Lorenzo Monaco, *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail), dated 1414
Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



3. Lorenzo Monaco, *Adoration of the Magi* (detail). Florence, Uffizi
(photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



4. Lorenzo Monaco, Diptych (left wing), dated 1408. Paris, Louvre
(Courtesy of the Louvre)



5. Lorenzo Monaco, *Marriage of the Virgin* (detail of fresco). Florence,
Santa Trinità, Bartolini Chapel (photo: Alinari)



6. Lorenzo Monaco, *Prophet*. Washington, National Gallery
of Art, Rosenwald Collection



7. Lorenzo Monaco, *Saint*, dated 1409. Florence, Laurentian
Library, Corale 3, fol. 35r



8. Lorenzo Monaco, *Prophet*. Cleveland Museum of Art,
J. H. Wade Collection



9. Lorenzo Monaco, *Bishop Saint*. Florence, Bargello
Cod. E 70, fol. 41v



10. Lorenzo Monaco, *Prophet*. Florence, Bargello, Cod. H 74, fol. 131r



11. Lorenzo Monaco (assisted), *Saint*. Florence, Bargello
Cod. G 73, fol. 41v



12. Lorenzo Monaco, *God the Father and Christ*. Paris, Coll.
Wildenstein (Courtesy Mr. G. Wildenstein)



13. Matteo Torelli, *Trinity*, dated 1413. Florence
Bargello, Cod. E 70, fol. 101v



14. Lorenzo Monaco, *Coronation* (central gable: Blessing Christ), dated 1414
(photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



15. Lorenzo Monaco, *Coronation* (right gable: Annunciate Virgin),
dated 1414. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



16. Lorenzo Monaco, *Monteoliveto Altarpiece* (central gable:
Blessing Christ), dated 1406-1410. Florence, Uffizi
(photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



17. Lorenzo Monaco, *Christ and David*, dated 1406. Florence,
Laurentian Library, Corale 7, fol. 20r



18. Lorenzo Monaco, *Monteoliveto Altarpiece (Prophet)*, dated 1406-1410
Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



19. Lorenzo Monaco, *St. John the Evangelist*, dated 1396
Florence, Laurentian Library, Corale 1, fol. 33r



20. Lorenzo Monaco, *St. Jerome*, dated 1394
Laurentian Library, Corale 5, fol. 138r

21. Lorenzo Monaco, *Tobit*, dated 1394
Laurentian Library, Corale 5, fol. 20



22. Lorenzo Monaco, *Agony in the Garden*
Florence, Accademia (photo: Alinari)



23. Lorenzo Monaco(?), *St. Andrew*. Florence, Bargello
Cod. C 71, fol. 210



24. "Silvestro dei Gherarducci," *Prophet or Saint*. New York,
Morgan Library, M.478 (cut leaf) (Courtesy Morgan Library)



25. Lorenzo Monaco (School), *Moses*. Florence, Laurentian
Library, Corale 13, fol. 89r

St. John of Corale 1 (Fig. 19) is especially important because of its quality and because it links the earlier period of Lorenzo Monaco to his second phase. The miniature on fol. 20r of Corale 7 (Fig. 17, datable 1406-1407) and that in the Wildenstein Collection of about 1410 (Fig. 12) help to disprove the dating of the Prophets of Corale 3 in 1409.

Already in his earliest period Lorenzo Monaco availed himself of assistants; witness the *St. Paul* of Corale 8⁵⁶ and the *Moses* of Corale 13 (Fig. 25). This will explain why the *St. Caius* and *St. Catherine* in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by Gronau,⁵⁷ resemble the Master's style in the heads but are quite different in the construction and proportions of the body. Even the heads of these Saints show a dryness of design and a dullness in the chiaroscuro that are foreign to Lorenzo Monaco. The other paintings that have been connected by Gronau with the *St. Caius* and *St. Catherine* in his proposed reconstruction of the San Gaggio altarpiece are even further removed from the master's style.⁵⁸ Furthermore, I must exclude from the works of Lorenzo Monaco the Pescia altarpiece, which bears no resemblance to the signed *Coronation of the Virgin* and which contrasts in style with the earlier works of the artist.⁵⁹ It has a mild, flaccid quality quite foreign to Lorenzo's early period—or, in fact, to any period of his career—and a flat schematization in the drapery that is more in keeping with the style of Matteo Torelli. The trite punching in the halos and the pointed flower inscribed with a dotted cross are also foreign to Lorenzo's modes.⁶⁰

The miniature with *Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*⁶¹ has the same debased style as the Pescia altarpiece; the heads of St. Peter resemble one another. It is a caricature of Lorenzo's style; its small figure of Christ, whose long shapeless body half merges with that of St. Peter, is poorly designed for the space allotted to it in the upper part of the initial, and the draperies of the ungainly St. Peter are reminiscent of a miniature of the *Ascension of Christ* by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi on fol. 86r of Corale 1.⁶² The miniature lacks the monumental quality of Lorenzo Monaco. It shows an ambiguity in the relation of the figures that is alien to the artist. The recession in depth indicated by the arms of St. Peter and the body of Christ is foreign to Lorenzo's early period, and the Trecentesque quality of the drapery of St. Peter prevents the dating of the miniature in Lorenzo's second or third period.

The ascription of new miniatures to Lorenzo Monaco's early period supports the hypothesis already suggested by Signora Ciaranfi that Lorenzo Monaco was trained in Florence in the Orcagnesque tradition and not in Siena, in spite of his Sienese origins.⁶³ His first works indicate

56. The *St. Paul* on fol. 163 of Corale 8 is reproduced by Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, p. 295, fig. 6.

57. Gronau, *op.cit.*, p. 185, figs. 2, 4; p. 220, fig. 5.

58. The Louvre predella scenes (Gronau, *op.cit.*, p. 219, figs. 2-4) probably belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The executioner at the right of the *Beheading of St. James* in the Louvre (Gronau, fig. 2) is strongly reminiscent of the figure of an executioner by Battista di Biagio Sanguigni in the scene of the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* (reproduced in P. D'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann, *Dictionnaire des miniaturistes*, Milan, 1949, pl. cxx) in the Antiphonary from San Gaggio—the same church for which the Louvre predella scene was presumably painted—now in the Collection of Prince Tommaso Corsini in Florence. Battista di Biagio Sanguigni received payments for this work in 1432 (the documents are transcribed by W. Cohn "Il Beato Angelico e Battista di Biagio Sanguigni," *Rivista d'Arte, Annuario* 1955, xxx, 1956, pp. 215-216). The figure of Salome in the Louvre predella scene also shows the influence of Fra Angelico. Therefore the Louvre predella scenes are not as early as has been suggested. On the other hand, the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Parry Collection (Gronau, *op.cit.*, p. 185, fig. 3) is still Trecentesque in character. I do not think that any part of the San Gaggio altarpiece is by Lorenzo Monaco.

59. This work was first attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by

Pudelko (*op.cit.*, p. 237). It was published recently with good photographs of details and ascribed again to Lorenzo Monaco by Eisenberg (*op.cit.*).

60. The Amsterdam and Bologna *Madonnas* reproduced by Eisenberg as comparisons are the work of different followers of Lorenzo Monaco. My reasons for contesting the attribution to Lorenzo Monaco of these two *Madonnas* are given in note 40 above.

61. This miniature was attributed to Lorenzo Monaco by E. Rosenthal (see note 30 above: the word "painting" used in the title of Rosenthal's article is misleading). Other miniatures attributed to Lorenzo in London and Berlin will be mentioned in my article on "Silvestro dei Gherarducci" and the Maestro delle Canzoni. A miniature in Detroit, also attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, will be discussed in my article on Matteo Torelli. I have not seen the *Marys at the Tomb of Christ* within an initial A, which Sirèn (*op.cit.*, p. 73) said was in the Louvre and which he ascribed to the school of Lorenzo Monaco. There is in Chantilly, Musée Condé, a *Resurrection with the Marys at the Tomb* within an initial R. I ascribe it to "Silvestro dei Gherarducci."

62. This *Ascension of Christ* is reproduced in D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, pl. 32.

63. Ciaranfi, *op.cit.*, pp. 286-289, 292, 302.

close contact with the school of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and particularly with an artist in this school, "Silvestro dei Gherarducci," who may have been his teacher.⁶⁴ Contacts with the International Gothic style are nowhere visible in Lorenzo's early illuminations. It is not improbable that Lorenzo started as an illuminator in the school of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and turned to painting only after he mastered the technique of book illumination.⁶⁵ In the Monastery he found a flourishing school of illumination, but not one of painting. Lorenzo may have turned to painting after 1396, when he left the Monastery. His first documented painting dates 1390-1400.⁶⁶

WILDENSTEIN GALLERY

APPENDIX

For the sake of clarity I give here chronologically, and together with my own attributions, the different opinions expressed by critics in the past fifty years on the choir books of the school of the Angeli now preserved in the Laurentian Library, the Bargello Museum, and the Church of Santa Maria Nova.

LAURENTIAN LIBRARY

20 choir books from Santa Maria degli Angeli:

Corale 1, dated 1396. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, I, p. 21; II, p. 125, no. 128) says that it is by a forerunner of Lorenzo Monaco.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, pp. 34, 37) says that it is close to Lorenzo Monaco.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 301 n. 1) ascribes the *St. John* to the artist who illuminated the *Moses* on fol. 89 of *Corale 13*.

In my opinion the *St. John* is by Lorenzo Monaco; the *Ascension of Christ* on fol. 86 is by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi.

Corale 2, dated 1370-1377. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 125-127, no. 129) says that it is Florentine under Sienese influence. He distinguishes three hands: the first is responsible for fol. 1, 9v, 20v, 46; the second for fol. 26v and for the most of the illuminations in the manuscript; the third, very fine, did fol. 68v.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 36) finds in it several artists, forerunners of Lorenzo Monaco.

P. TOESCA (*Il Trecento*, Turin, 1951, p. 811 n. 13) suggests a derivation from Nardo di Cione.

64. "Silvestro dei Gherarducci" is an interesting master of the late Trecento. He started in the Orcagnesque tradition and later shifted to the influences of Antonio Veneziano and Spinello Aretino. This artist will be discussed in my forthcoming article in *Rivista d'Arte*.

65. I do not discuss here the relationship between Lorenzo Monaco and the International Gothic Style as the new miniatures I attribute to the artist are fully in the Florentine tradition. J. Mesnil (*Masaccio et les débuts de la Renaissance*, The Hague, 1927, pp. 16-17) says that Lorenzo's work belongs to the International Gothic style and gives as proof some comparisons between two Bargello manuscripts (he does not say which) and French and Bohemian manuscripts. Besides not giving specific examples for his suggestion, he ascribes to

In my opinion there are three artists at work: the first is "Silvestro dei Gherarducci," who illuminated most of the miniatures. He is the teacher of Lorenzo Monaco. The second, who did fol. 6v, is the Maestro delle Canzoni, a follower of the first. The third, who worked only on fol. 20, is unknown to me.

Corale 3, dated 1409. SIRÈN (*op.cit.*, pp. 68-71) gives to Lorenzo Monaco all but fol. 27.

D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 127-128, no. 130) finds three artists: first, Lorenzo Monaco, who illuminated eight scenes on fol. 4v, 6v, 11, 15, 23v, 41v, 57v, 80v; the second, a sloppy hand, illuminated only fol. 27v; the third is very fine and is close to Lorenzo Monaco. He is responsible for the Prophets on fol. 35, 38v, 46v, 65v, 86v, 89v, 93 and 96v.

VAN MARLE (*op.cit.*, IX, 1927, pp. 139-140) accepts Sirèn's attribution.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, pp. 34-35) gives the manuscript to a follower of Lorenzo Monaco.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, English ed., p. 299) gives to Lorenzo three scenes and one Prophet.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, pp. 302-316 and figs. 8-20) ascribes to Lorenzo the eight Prophets, dating them 1409; while she considers the scenes as school of Fra Angelico and dates them in 1408-1409, or possibly later.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, Italian ed., pp. 10-11, 257) ascribes the Prophets to Lorenzo Monaco and proposes the name of Andrea di Giusto for six of the scenes.

LONGHI (*op.cit.*, p. 182 n. 15) ascribes the scenes to Battista di Biagio Sanguigni and dates them in the

Lorenzo the marginal decoration of the Bargello manuscripts, disregarding the total difference in color between these and the works by Lorenzo. Mesnil also suggests comparisons between the miniatures of *Corale 3* in the Laurentian Library (which he calls "Diario domenicale" and to which he gives the call number *Corale 1*) and the Prophets by Claus Sluter, to which I find only the remotest resemblance. But excellent comparisons are made by Rosenthal (*op.cit.*, pp. 74-76 and figs. 4-5) between the Prophets of *Corale 3* and the sculptures by Brunelleschi in the Cathedral of Pistoia. In my opinion the most important formative influences for Lorenzo's style are Florentine painting and sculpture of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

66. See note 7 above.

1420's (first break in the traditional dating of 1409). SALMI (*Commentari*, I, 1950, pp. 75-78) attributes the scenes to Fra Angelico himself, but dates them 1408-1409.

COLLOBI RAGGIANTI (*Critica d'Arte*, XXXIII, 1950, p. 25 n. 20) connected the scenes with the Tabernacle in Boston, which she ascribed to the school of Fra Angelico.

P. TOESCA (*op.cit.*, p. 812 n. 14) ascribes the Prophets to Lorenzo Monaco and his school, dating them 1409; while he dates the scenes in a later period and ascribes them to the school of Angelico.

POPE-HENNESSY (*op.cit.*, p. 206) simply denies the attribution of the scenes to Angelico.

M. SALMI (*La miniatura fiorentina gotica*, Rome, 1954, p. 49, pl. LXIV) confirms his previous attribution to Angelico and the dating in 1409.

COLLOBI RAGGIANTI (*Critica d'arte*, n.s., II, 1955, p. 43) repeats her previous ascription of the scenes to the follower of Angelico who painted the Boston tabernacle.

I accept Ciaranfi's ascription of the Prophets to Lorenzo Monaco, but date them in the 1420's; I ascribe fol. 27v to Matteo Torelli and date it between 1409 and 1413; I believe that the *Dance of David* on fol. 55v was begun by Lorenzo Monaco and completed by Zanobi Strozzi, to whom I ascribe fol. 22v, 15, and 39v. I date Strozzi's share in the late 1450's or early 1460's. The rest is by a follower of Lorenzo Monaco who came in contact with the Renaissance, possibly Andrea di Giusto, as suggested by Berenson.

Corale 4, dated 1410. Its illuminations are by Attavante, documented and dated 1505-1506.

Corale 5, dated 1394. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 128-129, no. 131) compares it with Corale 7 and 17 (*sic*, i.e. 13).

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 37) compares it with Corale 2 and 10.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, pp. 291-301) ascribes the *St. Michael* on fol. 105 to a Florentine Orcagnesque master; the praying *Saint* on fol. 20 to a close follower of Lorenzo Monaco; and the *Cardinal Saint* on fol. 138 to Lorenzo Monaco.

I ascribe the *Tobit* on fol. 20 and the *St. Jerome* on fol. 138 to Lorenzo Monaco, while I suggest tentatively the name of Matteo Torelli for the *St. Michael* on fol. 105.

Corale 6. D'ANCONA ascribes it (*op.cit.*, II, p. 129, no. 132) to the illuminator of fol. 9v and 46 in Corale 2.

I ascribe it to "Silvestro dei Gherarducci."

Corale 7, dated 1406. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 129, no. 133) ascribes it to the illuminator of Corale 17 (meaning 13).

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, pp. 34-36) gives it to the artist who illuminated Corale 3 and who painted the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Raczinsky Collection at Posen (re-

produced by Sirèn, *op.cit.*, pl. 35), whom he considers a follower of Lorenzo Monaco.

I ascribe fol. 20 to Lorenzo Monaco, fols. 36, 72, and 95v to Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

Corale 8, dated 1395. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 129-130, no. 134) ascribes it to the author of the Prophets of Corale 3.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, pp. 301-302) ascribes it to Lorenzo Monaco.

I accept Ciaranfi's attribution.

Corale 9. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, p. 130, no. 135) merely states that it is finely executed.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 37) compares it with Corale 10.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 395 n. 1) says that it is very fine and "arcaicizzante."

I ascribe it to "Silvestro dei Gherarducci."

Corale 10. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 130-131, no. 136) gives it to the author of Corale 9.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 37) says that it is similar to Corale 5 and 2.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 395 n. 1) calls it "molto rozzo."

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 45, pls. LI-LV) says that fols. 82 and 103v have "forme ritrovabili in un anonimo seguace che fu anche pittore."

I ascribe it to Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

Corale 11. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 132, no. 137) says that it is by the same artist who illuminated the last scenes of Corale 2.

I think it may be by Michele Sertini, the illuminator of two Psalters in the San Marco Museum in Florence (Inv. Nos. 559 and 560).

Corale 12, dated 1397. Has no illumination.

Corale 13. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 132, no. 140) calls it Corale 17 and ascribes it to the illuminator of Corale 7.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 301 n. 1) compares it with the *St. John* in Corale 1.

I think it may be by Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

Corale 14. Has no illumination.

Corale 15. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 131, no. 138) makes no attribution.

I think that the *St. Ursula* on fol. 28v may be by the same artist who illuminated the *St. Stephen Enthroned* on fol. 48v of Cod. D in the Cathedral of Prato, dated 1429, and propose for it a date at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Corale 16. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 131-132, no. 139) makes no comment.

I suggest it might be by Paolo Soldini.

Corale 17. Has no illumination (see Corale 13 for D'Ancona's comment).

Corale 18, dated 1410. Has blanks reserved for illuminations.

Corale 19. Seems to be unpublished. I ascribe it to "Silvestro dei Gherarducci."

Corale 20. It is unpublished and illuminated by an inferior artist of the second decade of the fifteenth century, not worthy of attention.

BARGELLO MUSEUM

Six choir books from Santa Maria Nova:

Cod. A 69. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, pp. 132-133, no. 141) says that it is by a different artist than the following manuscripts.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 43, "Codice A") says that it is by a follower of Lorenzo Monaco, "duro," like the author of Corale 7 and 17 (*sic*, i.e. 13) in the Laurentian Library.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 383) says that it is by the author of Cod. A 72 (*sic*, i.e. F 72).

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 48, pl. LXI) ascribes fol. 58v to Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

I ascribe all the miniatures to Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

Cod. C 71. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 133, no. 142) says that it is by one artist, although fols. 105 and 210 are finer.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 43; "Cod. C") says that it is finer, "more Sienese" than the other Bargello manuscripts.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 384) says that it is by a forerunner of Lorenzo's style of about 1412-1413.

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 45, pls. LI-LV) ascribes the *St. Stephen* on fol. 95 to the same artist who illuminated the *St. Cecily* on fol. 154v of Corale 6 in the Laurentian Library.

I ascribe this manuscript to various artists. Fol. 105 is by Lorenzo Monaco, and possibly also fols. 210 and 243v (the latter very damaged); I give fol. 82v to a follower of Don Simone Camaldolese; fol. 95 to a follower of "Silvestro dei Gherarducci"; fols. 92v and 140 to Rossello di Jacopo Franchi (the only illuminations known by him so far); fol. 255 to a follower of Battista di Biagio Sangugnani. I have no opinion on the very damaged *Annunciation* on fol. 2v.

Cod. E 70. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 134, no. 143) ascribes it to the author of Cod. C 71, although fols. 84v and 130v are inferior.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, pp. 43-44; "Cod. E") says that the Prophets in the first part of the manuscript—for instance the one on fol. 52v—are close to Lorenzo Monaco.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, pp. 395-396) ascribes the manuscript to Lorenzo Monaco and dates it 1413-1422.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, Italian ed., p. 257) ascribes to Lorenzo Monaco fols. 41v, 52v, 64, 74v and 101v.

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 45, pls. LI-LV) ascribes the manuscript to the last period of Lorenzo Monaco and compares it with triptych no. 157 in the Academy of Siena, which is usually ascribed to the youthful period of Lorenzo Monaco (see Sirèn, v. Marle, *op.cit.*).

I accept Ciaranfi's attribution to Lorenzo Monaco for fols. 41v, 52v, and 74v but date them at the time of the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi* (1420-1422). I ascribe seven illuminations to Matteo Torelli, on the

basis of the document of commission I have found (see note 15 above). The seven illuminations are on fols. 2v, 15, 26v, 64, 84v, 101v, and 130v. For these I accept Salmi's comparison with the Siena triptych, which I also ascribe to Torelli. Fol. 115 is too much damaged for study. Fol. 186 is modern.

Cod. F 72. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 134-136, no. 144) simply states that it is by a mediocre artist.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 44; "Cod. F") finds in it several hands, among which some Saints are similar to those "of the preceding manuscripts."

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 383; "Cod. A 72") says that it is by the same artist who illuminated Cod. A 69 and fol. 36 of Corale 7 in the Laurentian Library.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, p. 257) ascribes to Lorenzo Monaco the Prophets and Monks (he does not say which).

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 48, pl. LXI) says that fols. 54v and 76v are by Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

I agree both with Salmi and Ciaranfi, and attribute the entire manuscript to Bartolomeo di Fruosino, to whom I also ascribe Cod. A 69 and Corale 7 in the Laurentian Library (except for fol. 20 of the latter, which I give to Lorenzo Monaco).

Cod. G 73. D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, pp. 136-138, no. 145) finds in it four hands: the first is poor and illuminated fols. 2v, 8, 27, 30, 35v, 38v, 47v, 53, 56, 65v, 68, 72, 123v, 140, 190v and 226v; the second is Lorenzo Monaco, to whom he attributes fols. 5v, 41v, 58v, 62, 75v, 89v and 192; the third is weak and is responsible for fols. 32v, 44v, 50; the fourth is the most wretched in the manuscript and illuminated fols. 156v and 183.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 44; "Cod. G") finds several hands. He ascribes the *Holy Innocents* on fol. 44v to the artist who illuminated one miniature of Corale 2 in the Laurentian Library (he does not say which, but he must mean the miniature with the same subject on fol. 20v of Corale 2).

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, p. 383; "Cod. G 79") merely ascribes it to the school of Lorenzo Monaco.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, p. 257) ascribes to Lorenzo Monaco the Prophets and Monks (he does not say which).

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 48, pl. LXI) says that most of the miniatures are by Lorenzo Monaco. The *Nativity* on fol. 35v shows the influence of the master and "allude a" Bartolomeo di Fruosino (the sentence is rather involved, but I think I have interpreted it correctly).

I find in it the hand of Bartolomeo di Fruosino, possibly with the help of Lorenzo Monaco on fols. 38v, 41v, 57, 90v.

Cod. H 74. SIRÈN (*op.cit.*, pp. 71-72) attributes it to Lorenzo Monaco and dates it 1412-1413.

D'ANCONA (*op.cit.*, II, p. 138-141, no. 146) accepts Sirèn's attribution and date, and because of it he rejects Sirèn's attribution to Lorenzo Monaco of the Prophets in Corale 3 in the Laurentian Library.

GOLZIO (*op.cit.*, p. 44, "Cod. H") accepts the attribu-

tion to Lorenzo Monaco and compares the manuscript with the *Crucifixion* in S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri. He also finds the same profiles as in Corale 3 and 7 in the Laurentian Library in an illumination of Cod. H 74 reproduced by D'Ancona on pl. L.

CIARANFI (*op.cit.*, pp. 379-383) accepts the attribution to Lorenzo Monaco and dates the manuscript in 1412-1413.

BERENSON (*op.cit.*, p. 257) ascribes to Lorenzo Monaco the Prophets and Monks.

I date the manuscript around 1423-1424 and accept the attribution to Lorenzo Monaco for most of the miniatures, except fols. 3v and 122v, the *base-de-page* on fol. 15, part of fols. 23 and 79v, three busts on fol. 104v, a *Benedictine Monk* on fol. 107v,

part of fol. 125v, and the *King* on fol. 153v, which I attribute to followers, among whom is Bartolomeo di Fruosino.

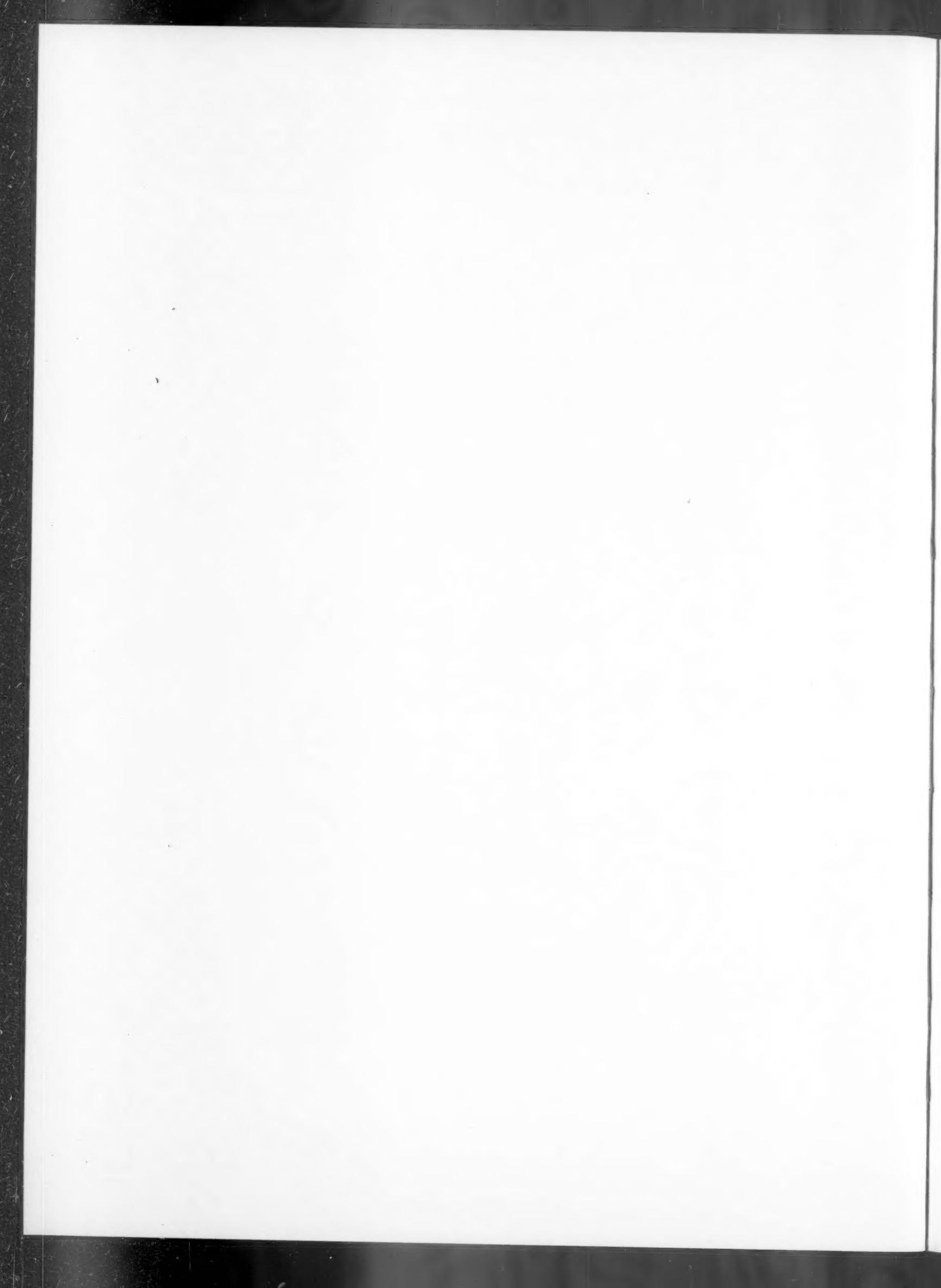
SANTA MARIA NOVA

(formerly Convent of the Oblate), three manuscripts:

Cods. B, D and I (the latter dated 1422). CIARANFI, who published them (*op.cit.*, p. 283 and n. 2), attributed them to the school of Lorenzo Monaco.

SALMI (*op.cit.*, p. 46, pl. LV b) accepts Ciaranfi's attribution.

I attribute them to Bartolomeo di Fruosino and date them between 1420 and 1430.



RAPHAEL'S TAPESTRIES AND THEIR CARTOONS*

JOHN WHITE AND JOHN SHEARMAN

I: THE TAPESTRIES

IT is impossible to calculate the aesthetic and historical significance of the set of tapestries which was designed by Raphael to complete the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. The importance of the tapestries themselves is equaled and perhaps surpassed by the influence of their cartoons upon four hundred years of Christian thought and European Art. In spite of this, the accidents of time have made it hard to catch even a glimpse of the full magnificence of Raphael's artistic purpose and achievement.

Particularities of beauty in the handling of individual details still survive in plenty, but these were, from the start, of relatively small importance in the scale of things. The necessary intervention of the weavers and the often exaggerated part played by Raphael's own workshop in preparing the cartoons meant that his achievement always lay predominantly in the composition as a whole. The mutilation of cartoons and tapestries alike has therefore only served to emphasize the peculiar gravity of the present situation.

The original order of the tapestries and their relationship to the decorative scheme of the Sistine Chapel, which they were specifically designed to complete, are now unknown. Furthermore, the low-warp weaving process means that every tapestry presents a mirror image of its own cartoon. The aesthetic consequences of such complete reversals are profound, and so far no convincing proof exists as to which of the alternative compositions actually reflects the artist's purpose. It has even been argued that Raphael was confused himself, and that his personal vision was obscured in cartoon and in tapestry alike. Consequently, the final aesthetic problems can only be resolved by reference to the Vatican frescoes.

It is with the building of the Sistine Chapel that the story of the tapestries properly begins, and fortunately the architectural structure has changed little since the days of Raphael. The most obvious alteration, the replacement of the original altar wall, with its articulating cornices and two round-headed windows, by the unbroken plain wall of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, is also a crucial one, since these windows were the light source used in all the subsequent decoration of the Chapel. Then, as now, no windows at all existed in the entrance wall.¹ The other significant difference was in the position of the screen or *cancellata* which divides the chapel into two main areas, consisting of a chancel and a corresponding area for the laity.² Whereas the chancel now

* Part II of this article will appear in the December issue of the ART BULLETIN. The joint research embodied in this study was begun in connection with a series of tutorials given at The Courtauld Institute in the Spring of 1953. In the important early stages a considerable contribution was made by Mr. Lee Johnson, who was later obliged to concentrate upon his work on Delacroix. For the sake of unity, the text itself is actually written by John White, with the exception of the notes, and Appendices II and III, which are written by John Shearman.

Particular acknowledgment must be made to Professor Johannes Wilde, and also to Professor Sir Anthony Blunt, Professor John Pope-Hennessey, Mr. Oliver Millar, Professor Ernst Gombrich, Dr. Leopold Ettlinger, and Dr. Margaret Whinney, as well as to the many graduates and undergraduates

of the Institute who have contributed in one way or another. At the Vatican, unstinted help was given by Dr. H. Speyer, Dr. Grossi, and Dr. Bencivenga, whilst at the Victoria and Albert Museum every facility was made available by Mr. C. H. Gibbs-Smith.

At the time of going to press, we heard that Professor W. Schöne has been working on the same subject, and he generously allowed us to see the whole of his material.

1. The east wall of the chapel was not free-standing, and as Mr. James Ackerman has kindly pointed out, if there had ever been windows here they would be visible in the early exterior views (cf. for example figs. 22 and 29 in James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954).

2. For discussion of the moving of the *cancellata*, see Appendix I, below.

takes up two-thirds of the total area, the *cancellata* formerly divided the chapel into two almost equal parts (Fig. 1). It ran across from a point on the left wall about 0.76 m. beyond the painted pilaster enclosing the third bay from the altar to cut the singing gallery on the right-hand wall, leaving one-third of the latter within the chancel and two-thirds in the lay part of the chapel. The original position of the *cancellata* is marked by a single low step which raises the floor of the chancel above that of the room reserved for the laity. Originally, a single further step, instead of the present flight of four, enclosed the then slightly smaller area consigned to the altar and the papal throne. The colored marble mosaic pattern of the floor was therefore fully visible, instead of being partially obscured by the present enlarged platform.

In the original decorative scheme, the simple painted hangings of the lower walls were balanced by the plain star-studded blue of the flattened barrel vault, the latter's simple frame of painted architecture corresponding to the actual structure of support. The spandrels and lunettes above the windows apparently were left plain, and the main double band of figure decoration began below the springing of the vault with the continuous series of full-length portraits of the Popes, each standing in a painted niche, which still embellishes the intervals between the windows. Immediately below, occupying the upper half of the lower wall, were painted parallel cycles of eight frescoes each, depicting the Story of Moses and the Life of Christ. These both began upon the altar wall and then ran round to left and right respectively to meet again upon the entrance wall.

With the completion of Michelangelo's ceiling in 1512 the chapel was transformed. But this very process had at the same time destroyed the original decorative equilibrium. The painted hangings and simple ceiling were no longer balanced about the central, double band of figure decoration. The fictive damasks were no longer a sufficient decorative base for the great crescendo of forms that piled above them.

Exactly when Raphael was commissioned to design cartoons for a series of Brussels tapestries sufficiently magnificent to establish a new decorative balance and complete the transformation of the original fifteenth century scheme, is not known. The first surviving mention of the work is in two documents of June 15, 1515, recording a part payment of 300 ducats; a further 134 ducats, recorded in three documents of September 20, 1516, brought the known total up to 434 ducats.³

By this time, when some of the cartoon designs had already been engraved, the first of the cartoons at least had almost certainly been sent north to the weaver, Pieter van Aelst.⁴ As early as the end of July 1517, an entry in Antonio de Beatis' *Diary of the Journey of Cardinal Louis of Aragon* records that "Pope Leo is having xvi pieces of tapestry made there, according to what is said for the Chapel of Sixtus which is in the Apostolic Palace in Rome, for the most part of silk and gold; they cost 2,000 ducats a piece. We were at the place to see them being made, and one piece which shows how Christ gave the Keys to St. Peter, which is most beautiful, we saw finished; from which his excellency adjudged that they will be amongst the most beautiful in Christendom."⁵

A further document, of April 21, 1518, tells of a payment for the carriage of eleven tapestries from Flanders to Rome, and on June 18 of the same year 1,000 ducats were assigned to "Peter Loroi the Fleming in payment for tapestries."⁶ In neither case are the works identified, however, and this is important since no more than seven pieces of the Raphael set had actually arrived in Rome by December 26, St. Stephen's day, 1519. It was then that Paris de Grassis, the papal master of ceremonies, recorded the first public exhibition of the tapestries in the Sistine Chapel.⁷

On the following day these seven tapestries were fully described by Marcantonio Michiel in

3. See V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, Vatican City, 1936, pp. 38, 51.

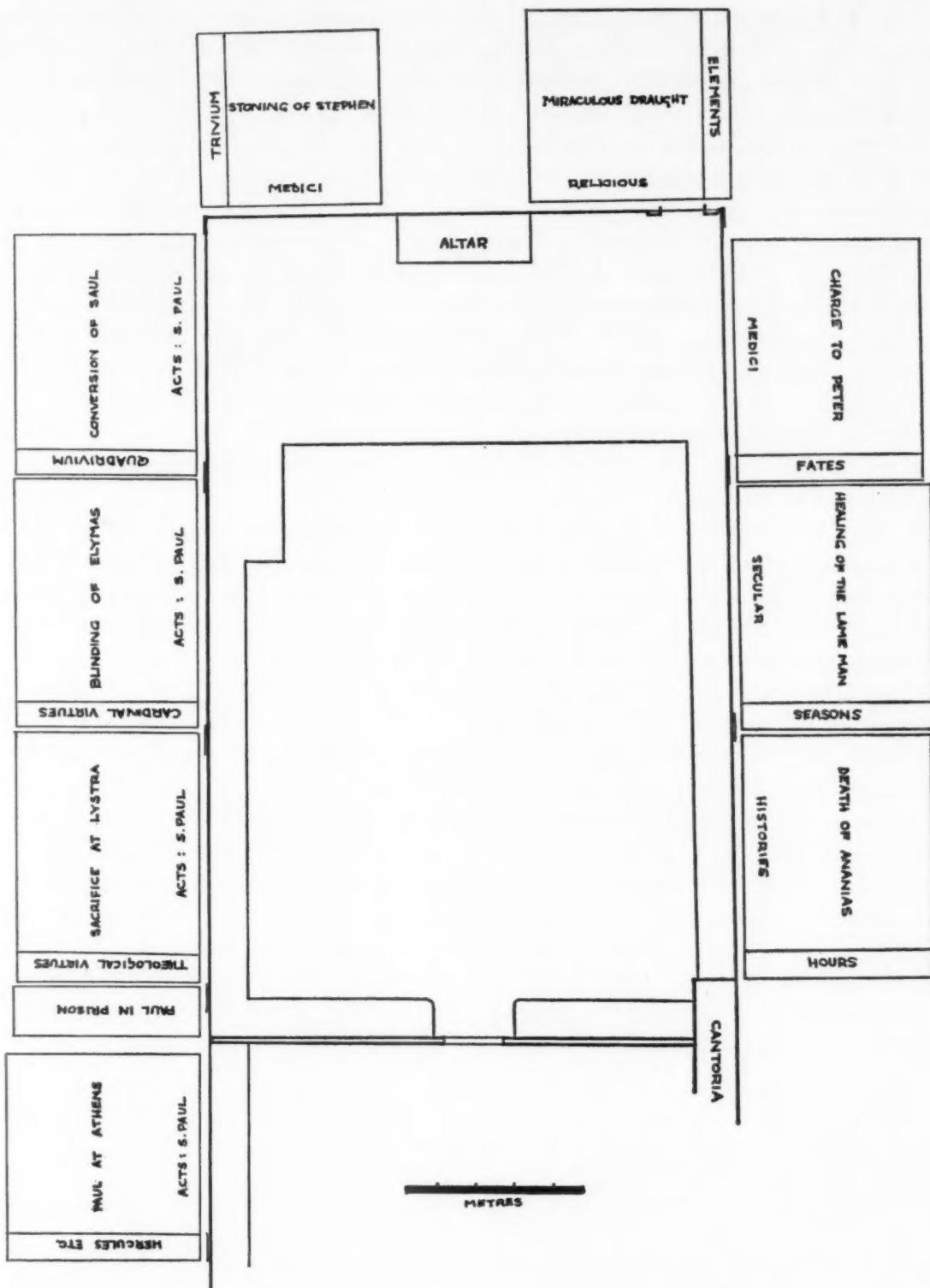
4. An engraving of the *Blinding of Elymas* by Agostino Veneziano is dated 1516. (See A. Bartsch, *Le peintre-graveur*, Leipzig, 1854-70, XIV, pp. 43, 48.) It was apparently not made directly from the cartoon, but from a drawing like the

autograph study at Windsor. (See A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries at Windsor Castle*, London, 1949, no. 803, pl. 63.)

5. L. Pastor, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona*, Freiburg i.B., 1905, p. 117.

6. Golzio, *Raffaello*, pp. 69, 70.

7. Golzio, *ibid.*, p. 103.



1. Reconstruction of the original arrangement of the tapestries in the Sistine Chapel,
as planned by Raphael (*scale drawing*)

his diary, together with a passing reference to the fact that "the eighth had not arrived." Apart from the solitary composition mentioned by De Beatis, this is the earliest reference to the subjects represented, and although in two cases there is an obvious misunderstanding of the content, it is clear that the tapestries which Michiel saw were those now known as the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes; Healing of the Lame Man; Stoning of St. Stephen; Conversion of St. Paul; Blinding of Elymas; and Sacrifice at Lystra*.⁸ These have all survived, together with the three further scenes of the *Death of Ananias, St. Paul in Prison*, and *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, and not merely with the one additional tapestry that Michiel thought was needed to complete the set.

Raphael's cartoons for seven of these ten tapestries have also been preserved, the three lost designs being the *Stoning of St. Stephen, Conversion of St. Paul*, and *St. Paul in Prison*.⁹ The last named is therefore the only one of the ten surviving designs that was neither seen by Michiel as a tapestry nor, alternatively, preserved in cartoon form. Nevertheless, on technical grounds alone, the existing Vatican tapestry cannot be doubted as being part of the original commission. All ten tapestries are, in any case, described in detail in an inventory begun in 1518, the actual entry being dateable between December 1 and 17, 1521.¹⁰ Indeed, the set can never have been smaller than it is now. On the contrary, it has been suggested, as a result of De Beatis' statement that not ten, but sixteen tapestries were being woven by van Aelst, that the set in fact contained the larger number.¹¹ This is, however, most unlikely.

Firstly there is no corroborative evidence at all that any additional cartoons of the Acts of the Apostles were ever planned or carried out by Raphael. Secondly, no additional scenes occur in the three, or possibly four, further sets of tapestries apparently woven from Raphael's cartoons in the workshop of van Aelst himself.¹² These, like many of the later sets, omit the narrow *St. Paul in Prison*. But even this awkward scene appears to have been included in two of the seventeenth century Mortlake sets. Indeed, although a total of fifty-five sets and partial sets of tapestries have been identified as deriving directly or indirectly from Raphael's cartoons, only three additional subjects can be found, and none of these shows any sign of being part of the original series.¹³

Apart from the lack of any corroboration for De Beatis' report in the later documentation of the Vatican set, the inventory of 1521 seems to militate against its accuracy. Furthermore, there is the payment in early 1518 for the carriage of eleven tapestries from Flanders to Rome, whereas only seven of the Raphael set had reached the Vatican by the end of 1519.¹⁴ At least four of the pieces mentioned in the payment must, in consequence, have belonged to another group. Since, on the other hand, an eighteen months' delay in Rome between arrival and display would be very hard to explain, it seems likely that there is no connection at all between Raphael's tapestries and this particular document. In either case, it shows that the Acts of the Apostles were not the only tapestries being woven for Leo X in Flanders during the very period covered by De Beatis' stay.

8. See below, p. 208.

9. The surviving cartoons, now the property of H.M. the Queen, are on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The history both of the cartoons and of the tapestries is documented in Appendix II below.

10. See "Inventario delle robe nella foraria di Papa Leone X. mo. 1518," fols. 30^r, 30^v. Rome, Archivio di Stato; Archivio Camerale, parte 1, busta 1557. The list is in the part of the inventory made after the Pope's death (December 1, 1521), bringing his acquisitions up to date, for the records had been allowed to lapse from about the autumn of 1519—that is to say, from before the arrival of the entire set. A marginal interpolation to the entry is dated December 17, 1521.

11. See A. Paul Oppé, "Right and Left in Raphael's Cartoons," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944, p. 85 n. 1.

12. These are the sets at Mantua, Madrid, and Berlin, with the addition of the set gradually acquired by Francis I. The

majority of the derivative sets and single pieces, many of them illustrated, are given in E. Kumsch, *Apostelgeschichte*, Dresden, 1919.

13. The second set from the Spanish Royal Collection contains two extraneous pieces, a *St. Paul Driven Out of the Synagogue* and a *St. Paul at Ephesus Burning the Books of the Pagans* (see E. Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphael, au Vatican*, Paris, 1897, p. 26).

A set, dateable ca. 1620, in the Museo della Santa Casa, Loreto, contains a *Conversion of the Centurion Cornelius, with the Vision of St. Peter*, reproduced in G. Pauri, *La serie lauretana degli arazzi di Raffaello*, Milano, 1926, pl. 17, where it is stated, p. 26, that there is a variant of this tapestry in the Vatican. See also note 72 below.

14. Moreover, it is probable that only three had arrived by July 4, 1519; cf. the letter of the Venetian ambassador of that date in M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, Venice, 1890, XXVII, p. 470. The relevant text is given in Appendix II, pp. 215f., below.

It is therefore possible either that De Beatis was completely wrong in what he heard or that van Aelst himself was then working on more than one commission for the Pope.¹⁵ However that may be, neither the documents as a whole, nor any other pieces of external evidence give valid grounds for thinking that the ten existing Vatican tapestries are not the whole of the original set. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that there is no hint in the sixteenth century literature either that the much praised tapestries formed no more than the surviving fraction of a larger scheme or that they were the finished fragments of one that was never completed at all.

Serious doubts could only arise if it were found, upon internal evidence, or in attempting to discover the original arrangement of the tapestries, that there were other reasons for believing the existing set to be incomplete. It will be seen that this does not appear to be the case.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL

When attention was first turned to the original arrangement of the tapestries, the Chapel itself was thought to have undergone no alterations that could seriously affect the matter. A scheme was therefore proposed in which the wall space of the present chancel was more or less adequately covered by the existing tapestries.¹⁶ Although it contained many unsatisfactory elements, this early scheme survived unchallenged until disqualified by the discovery that the *cancellata* had been moved.¹⁷ Even then many of its less convincing features reappeared in the arrangement that was devised to take its place—a scheme which has as yet remained substantially unchallenged. In this new reconstruction the altar wall is left entirely bare, and the tapestries are arranged in a continuous series, starting on the left wall at the second bay from the entrance.¹⁸ The suggested order is (1) *Charge to St. Peter*, (2) *Healing of the Lame Man*, (3) *Death of Ananias*, (4) *Stoning of St. Stephen*, (5) *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, continuing on the right wall in the first bay from the altar with (6) *Conversion of St. Paul*, (7) *Blinding of Elymas*, (8) *Sacrifice at Lystra*, (9) *St. Paul in Prison*, and (10) *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, again leaving the bay nearest to the entrance wall unfilled.

The main reason for leaving the altar wall bare was the presence of the small door that was opened up on the extreme right during the reign of Alexander VI (1492-1503), the similar door on the left being only an eighteenth century addition. If the earlier door was to remain uncovered, there would not have been room to hang a tapestry between it and Perugino's frescoed altarpiece of the Assumption.¹⁹ The lack of tapestries on either wall in the bay nearest to the entrance was explained by the theory that both spaces were occupied by women's tribunes. This suggestion was entirely based on a passage in the diary of Paris de Grassis. Writing in 1520, he says: "On the ninth day of November the lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Bari entered Rome. . . . And as she desired to see the papal chapel and its decoration and to hear mass out of devotion, and we forbade it, because to enter, and to be present at mass is not permitted to women; the Pope, however, heard her petition, and admitted the Duchess into the chapel, where mass was sung. . . ."²⁰

From this passage, written after the arrival of the tapestries in Rome, it appears that the Duchess of Bari was finally allowed to enter the chapel and to be present during mass as a special privilege, despite the rule which was then in force forbidding access to women. It also seems that she attended in the lay part of the chapel as was usual for male visitors. There is no support for the idea that special tribunes were, at this time, provided for women. The wording seems indeed to exclude the possibility.

15. In fact an extraordinary number of tapestries are recorded in the 1518-1521 inventory as having been woven for Leo X.

16. See K. Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Stuttgart, 1829-42, II, 2, p. 410.

17. See E. Steinmann, "Cancellata und Cantoria in der sistinische Kapelle," *Jbh. der k. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 23, 1902, pp. 186-196.

18, 1897, pp. 24-25.

18. See E. Steinmann, "Die Anordnung der Teppiche Raffaels in der sistinische Kapelle," *Jbh. der k. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 23, 1902, pp. 186-196.

19. About 3 m would be left. See Appendix III, below, pp. 216f.

20. M. Armellini, *Il diario di Leone X*, Rome, 1884, p. 81.

This means that even with the altar wall left bare there are insufficient tapestries to cover both the side walls fully. Apart from the emptiness of the two end bays, there is the further difficulty that the *Healing of the Lame Man* (Fig. 5) is 5.65 m. wide, whilst the space remaining for it on the left wall in the bay immediately on the lay side of the *cancellata* measures no more than 4.80 m. (text fig. 1). On the chancel side, the gap of some 75 cm. before the beginning of the next bay is also left empty. Although no marks remain upon the wall, there is clear evidence that the *cancellata* was originally bonded into it, so that these difficulties cannot possibly have been resolved by hanging the *Healing of the Lame Man* between the wall and the end of the screen, partly in one section of the chapel and partly in the other.²¹

The unsatisfactory relationship between the tapestries and the spaces they are supposed to fill is accompanied by further disadvantages when the series is considered as a whole.

Firstly, there are no precedents for starting an historical cycle on the left of the entrance of a chapel and continuing it past the altar, clockwise round the walls, to end once more beside the entrance. Nor, if the tapestries are thought of as two complementary series, is there good precedent for beginning at the entrance in the one case and at the altar in the other.

There are two traditional ways of organizing fresco cycles. They are either started on the right of the altar and carried continuously round the walls until they again reach the altar, or else, when there are two sets of scenes, both are begun beside the altar and completed at the entrance. The latter corresponds to the arrangement of the fifteenth century frescoes of the lives of Moses and of Christ. The chronological sequence of the Old Testament scenes in Michelangelo's ceiling likewise runs from the altar towards the entrance. It is true that in the Sistine Chapel it is unwise to appeal uncritically to tradition. Nevertheless, each of the other breaks with precedent can be shown to have been strongly motivated.

The placing of the altar at the west end of the chapel, which is fairly common usage throughout Italy, conforms to its similar position in Old St. Peter's, in the shadow of which the Sistine Chapel was erected. The subsequent painting of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* behind the altar, instead of in its normal place above the door as a last reminder to the faithful on leaving the chapel, appears to be a direct result of Clement VII's experiences during the Sack of Rome.²² There are no such explanations for the break with precedent entailed in the suggested ordering of the tapestry cycle.

The anomalous disposition of the series is accompanied by a serious dislocation in the chronological sequence of the main scenes as laid down by the Gospels and the Acts.²³ The *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* is the only tapestry in which the living Christ appears, and properly speaking opens the entire sequence of events. In fact it is inserted between the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and the closely related scene of the *Conversion of St. Paul*, so taking fifth place in the series. Even the argument that this enables the left-hand wall to be seen as a framed unit and, less convincingly, allows the sequence dealing with St. Peter to be read in either direction, must be counterbalanced by the fact that it tucks the all-important figure of the living Christ himself as far as possible into the obscurity of the darkest, southwest, corner of the chapel.

21. The chapel is not exactly rectangular, the side walls converging appreciably towards the altar, the width at the entrance being 14.0 m and at the altar, 13.25 m. The *cancellata* has been modified in its upper parts at the *cantoria* end, but the lower parts, which on this side were not interrupted by the *cantoria*, are original, so that its width still accurately represents the initial situation. The blocks from which the end pilasters were carved still have a small amount of roughly hewn stone extending beyond the finished part (about 2.5 cm on the left, and 5 cm on the right: to be set into the wall). The total width of the finished parts is 13.65 m, precisely the width of the chapel over the stone insets on the floor marking the original position. The *cancellata* now being in

the wider part of the chapel, the unfinished parts are clear of the wall, and the gap is filled with cement.

22. See J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings . . . in the British Museum, Michelangelo and his studio*, London, 1953, p. 100n.

23. The relevant texts are: St. Luke 5:3-10 (*Miraculous Draught of Fishes*); St. John 21:15-17 (*Charge to St. Peter*); Acts 3:1-10 (*Healing of the Lame Man*); Acts 5:1-6 (*Death of Ananias*); Acts 7:55-60 (*Stoning of St. Stephen*); Acts 9:3-8 (*Conversion of St. Paul*); Acts 13:6-12 (*Blinding of Elymas*); Acts 14:8-18 (*Sacrifice at Lystra*); Acts 16:23-30 (*St. Paul in Prison*); Acts 17:15-34 (*St. Paul Preaching at Athens*).

No less unfortunate is the placing of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 7) on the immediate left of the papal throne. This places the scene in which St. Paul appears for the first time in the midst of a sequence otherwise devoted to St. Peter, who has, in fact, no place at all in this particular episode. It becomes impossible to see the histories of St. Peter and St. Paul either as a continuous story or as a parallel series upon opposite sides of the chapel.

This discomfort is increased on seeing that the lighting in the main scene, and more clearly still in the relief below, is from the right as in the stories of St. Paul upon the opposite wall (Figs. 8-12). In all the other scenes on its own side of the chapel, which are devoted to St. Peter, the light falls from the left (Figs. 4-6). This means that, except for the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, the proposed arrangement gives a uniform flow of light away from the entrance of the chapel and towards the altar. This also is unfortunate, since, in all the frescoes of the Story of Moses and the Life of Christ, in all the standing portraits of the Popes, together with their niches, as well as in all the painted hangings and pilasters, and finally throughout Michelangelo's ceiling, except in the main history scenes which lie across the main axis of the chapel and are treated as *quadri riportati* lit from the left, all the light flows clearly and consistently in the opposite direction, away from the altar wall and towards the entrance.²⁴

One of the most important arguments used to support the awkward placing of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* is that the papal throne was so placed as to reduce substantially the space available for a tapestry in the second bay on the left wall, thereby explaining the relatively small size of the scene. This argument, taken over from the original reconstruction, seems to have been based on the engraving of the chapel published by Vaccari in 1578 and copied by Brambilla in 1582.²⁵ But it is supported neither by the present setting of the papal throne nor by its former position as disclosed by Steinmann's careful reconstruction of the original flooring. In each case the throne is placed exactly in front of the pilaster separating the first and second bays (Fig. 1). Only its height above the general level of the floor has been changed. The position of the iron hooks used to support a canopy like that shown in the two engravings confirms that the latter are as inaccurate as most such representations. There is therefore no reason for singling out the second bay on the left wall as being especially restricted since any overlapping of the throne was evenly distributed between the first two bays. The position of the throne does not explain the unique smallness of the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, nor does the second bay on the left wall provide unique advantages as a site.

The mainstay of this reconstruction lies, however, in the series of Medici histories occupying the lower borders of the tapestries on the left wall. Despite the unfortunate consequences for the main histories and for the tapestries as a whole, it was thought that these secondary scenes were now in their correct chronological order, a consideration that had hitherto been ignored. Unfortunately this new semblance of order depends, in two cases, upon a misinterpretation of subject matter.

Altogether, nine episodes from Medici history are shown, and the proposed interpretations of the content result in the following chronological sequence: (1) *Pillage of the Medici Palace*, 1494, and (2) *Flight of the Medici*, 1494 (under *Charge to St. Peter*.) (3) *Journey to the North*, 1499-1500, and (4) *Battle of Ravenna*, 1512 (under *Healing of the Lame Man*.) (5) *Gonfaloniere Ridolfi Addressing the Florentines*, 1512, and (6) *Entry of the Medici into Prato*, 1512 (under *Death of Ananias*.) (7) *Entry of the Medici into Florence*, 1512 (under *Stoning of St. Stephen*.) (8) *Journey to Rome*, 1513, and (9) *Leo X Receiving Homage*, 1513 (under *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*.)

²⁴. The unity of lighting between the ceiling and the mural decoration was pointed out by Prof. J. Wilde.

²⁵. Respectively reproduced in E. Steinmann, *Die sechzehnische*

Kapelle, Munich, 1901-1905, I, pl. xxxiv or C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, II, Princeton, 1945, pl. 255, and *ibid.* pl. 256.

It is the sixth episode, interpreted as the *Entry of the Medici into Prato, 1512* (Fig. 13 d), which sets the problem. The siege and sack of Prato was a thoroughly infamous affair. Even the Medici historians could hardly turn it to the good by stories, which were probably true, of Giovanni's efforts to lessen the carnage, and it seems unlikely that Leo would care to revive the memory of the disaster. Such general arguments are supported by the iconographic detail of the scene itself. This reveals that the town is not Prato at all, but Florence.

In the opening episodes showing the *Pillage of the Medici Palace* and *Flight of the Medici* (Fig. 13 c) the identification with Florence is absolutely clear. In the right-hand scene of the flight, however, the city is represented by a gate at which there sits a sorrowing woman with a lion at her side. There is likewise a gate on the left, representing the town, in the scene interpreted as the *Entry into Prato* (Fig. 13 d). This time two lions flank the entrance. Now, instead of a woman mourning departure there appears upon the left, next to the gate and behind the reclining river god, a female figure with flying drapery who rushes forwards, arms outstretched in welcome. The mourning and the welcoming women are, in either case, the personifications of the city of Florence, which is further identified by the repetition of the distinctive lion gate. This identification is corroborated in the scene of Giovanni's journey to Rome to attend the conclave in which he was elected Pope (Fig. 13 b). The eternal city is not only characterized by a typical Roman basilica and by reclining gods of river and harvest. It is actually personified in the figure in Roman armor who shakes the Cardinal's hand in welcome. But it was from Florence that Giovanni was called to Rome, and there upon the left, behind the harvest god, the youthful female figure can be seen once more. This time she points the road the Cardinal is to take.

This triple appearance of the female personification of Florence confirms that the scene beneath the *Stoning of St. Stephen* represents an entry into that same city (Fig. 13 a). The harvest god recurs, and the welcoming female figure echoes in reverse the flying draperies and welcoming gesture of the Florence of the scene of entry that posed the initial problem. The fact that both these episodes refer to Florence is finally hammered home by the repeated presence of the hill-god personification of neighboring Fiesole. In the one case (Fig. 13 a), he is seated, in pensive mood, upon the rocks that rise behind the river god on the extreme left. In the other (Fig. 13 d), he is found, once more knees crossed and chin in hand, upon the crags that fill in the background between the Cardinal advancing on his mule and the burgher who comes out to greet him.

The realization that the sixth scene in the series, on the lower right of the *Death of Ananias*, actually represents the triumphant return of the Medici to Florence in 1512, means that the episode beneath the *Stoning of St. Stephen* can no longer be taken to describe the same event. It must, therefore, either show the entry as Papal Legate in May of 1492, or the earlier entry in March of that same year, after the young Giovanni had been made a cardinal in the Badia at Fiesole. These are the only possibilities.²⁶

The fact that the scene beneath the *Stoning of St. Stephen* represents an event of 1492, and not of 1512, is extremely serious for the suggested reconstruction. The major break in the chronological succession of the main scenes in the tapestries to be hung on the left wall can now no longer be even partially offset by an immaculate chronology in these subsidiary Medici episodes. Neither the main scenes above, nor the Medicean cycle below are in their correct historical order. In particular, the awkwardness both of lighting and of subject matter in the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, when it is placed among the scenes devoted to St. Peter, is underlined by the accompanying dislocation in the Medici narrative.

26. These arguments are only a reasoned return to the interpretations of these scenes given before Steimann's reconstruction (see G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1854-1857, II, pp. 309ff.; Platner und Urlichs, *Beschreibung Roms*, Stuttgart, 1845, p. 186; and

E. Förster, *Raphael*, Leipzig, 1867-1868, II, p. 90) and also afterwards, when the arrangement was not being examined (e.g. Pauri, *La serie lauretana*). For further analysis of the subject matter of the lower borders, see Appendix IV, pp. 218f. below.

These observations knock away the last prop from a reconstruction that was already open to many serious objections. It is ironical that this widely accepted scheme was accompanied by a counterproposal by Bode that aroused much less enthusiasm.²⁷ The shortcomings of the latter are so manifold that its one essential contribution has largely been ignored.

The new idea was based, not on the Vatican tapestries themselves, but on the early van Aelst set, now in Berlin, which once belonged to Henry VIII. In this series, as in all the early variants, the play of light upon the imitation marble framing of the main scenes is greatly intensified. The depth of the rectangular inner surfaces of the frame is increased, and the contrasts caused by the strong, raking light which falls upon them are emphasized. The shadows are darker and longer. Their outlines are more sharply cut. The actual disposition of shadow and highlight, on the other hand, is almost exactly as in the Vatican set. It is in itself highly significant that the weavers of these early reproductions should have attached so much importance to a feature which can easily be missed entirely by the modern onlooker. This is all the more surprising as the special conditions of lighting and position valid for the Sistine Chapel can hardly have been duplicated in any of the many different settings for which the subsequent series were intended.

The resultant, radically new thesis was that the lighting of the tapestries was a fundamental and not an incidental feature of their design. It must therefore have coincided with that of all the other decorative elements in the chapel. These, as has been seen already, were consistently painted as though their source of light lay in the then existing windows on the altar wall.

As might be expected in a reconstruction based upon consideration of only one of the many elements involved, and entirely unconcerned with the detailed problems of fitting the tapestries to the actual wall space of the chapel, the results for everything but the lighting are disastrous, and even in that one respect complete consistency is not achieved. This does not, however, undermine the fundamental premise that the unity of lighting in the chapel is of prime importance.²⁸

Turning then, from the present unsatisfactory situation, to the problems involved in trying to rediscover the original arrangement of the tapestries, it is clear that it would be most unwise to make a hard and fast assumption that the chronological sequence of the histories was rigidly respected. Nevertheless, there is only a single minor break in the chronological succession of the fifteenth century frescoes of the *Story of Moses* and the *Life of Christ*, and none in the sequence of the portraits of the Popes. In Michelangelo's ceiling there are two such breaks. But there, the already complex situation is still further complicated by the regular alternation in the size of the fields that are involved. Taking this chronological evidence with the rest, it seems reasonable to establish a working hypothesis upon four initial suppositions. These are: firstly, that the chronology of the subject matter was in fact respected; secondly, that the unity of lighting in the chapel was maintained; thirdly, that the existing tapestries represent the whole of the original series, which was in itself complete; and finally, that the cycle was arranged with every sequence starting at the altar, in accordance with the precedents already recognized upon the walls and ceiling.

It has already been seen that it is impossible to make the ten existing tapestries cover even the long side walls adequately. It follows that the intended scheme cannot have been directed at the chapel as a whole. The alternative is that it was focused on the most important part of it, namely the chancel, which contains the altar around which the whole religious ceremonial centers, and which furthermore includes the papal throne, being the area set aside for the Pope, the cardinals, and the bishops. Within this smaller space there is only one way in which the tapestries can have been

27. See W. Bode, "Die Anordnung der Teppiche Rafaels . . .," *Jbh. der k. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 23, 1902, p. 196.

28. The satisfying of the dimensional and lighting conditions of the chapel were made the first considerations in our inquiry. In the year of the first payments for the tapestry cartoons, Raphael was asked to paint, in Rome, a *quadro di*

pittura for Isabella d'Este in Mantua; Castiglione, acting as intermediary, wrote to Isabella: "pur mi scrive [Raphael] che io li mandi la misura del quadro et il lume, perche presto pensa dargli principio." (Golzio, p. 37.) Very often it is possible to see that an artist in the Renaissance has taken the lighting conditions of the site into account, and in the present argument it is extremely convenient to be able to quote a text.

arranged so as to carry out the primary requirements as to the disposition of the cycle on the walls, the chronological sequence of the subject matter, and the unity of lighting. Starting on the right of the altar wall, and continuing along the right-hand side wall, must have been (1) *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, (2) *Charge to St. Peter*, (3) *Healing of the Lame Man*, and (4) *Death of Ananias*. Then, beginning on the left of the altar wall, and continuing down the left-hand side wall, followed: (5) *Stoning of St. Stephen*, (6) *Conversion of Saul*, (7) *Blinding of Elymas*, (8) *Sacrifice at Lystra*, (9) *St. Paul in Prison*, and finally, (10) *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, this last tapestry being placed outside the *cancellata* in the remainder of the fourth bay (text fig. 1). The small section of this bay included in the chancel area by the *cancellata* would have been filled by the narrow subject of *St. Paul in Prison*.

Initial support for this reconstruction is supplied by the fact that the tapestries now fit very comfortably into the available spaces on the walls.

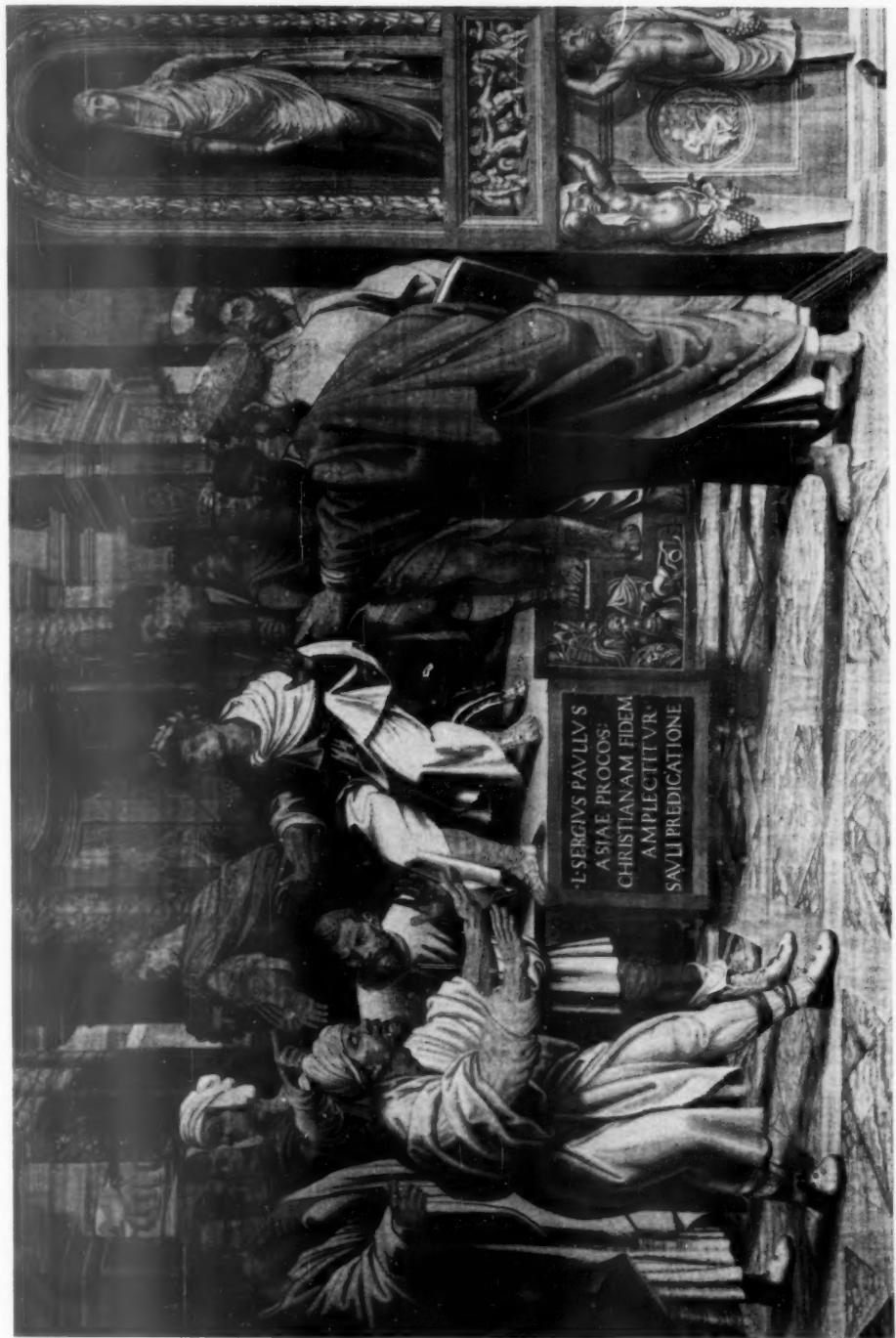
In working out the measurements, allowances must of course be made for the fact that only five of the original lateral figured borders still survive. These woven borders are of almost exactly the same width as the painted pilasters, and the fact that they were intended to replace the latter, and so maintain the principal articulating verticals of the chapel, is confirmed by the carefully preserved candelabrum effect of their internal design. This expresses their function as supports, although their specifically architectural quality has been modified.

One of the three surviving borders that are woven as one piece with the tapestries which they frame is suitably placed on the left of the isolated *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* (Fig. 12). Within the chancel itself there are eight pilasters on the lower walls. One of these is largely cut away by the end of the singing gallery, and two of them originally turned the corners between the side and altar walls. Each surface therefore ended with a half-pilaster, as still happens in the corners flanking the entrance wall.

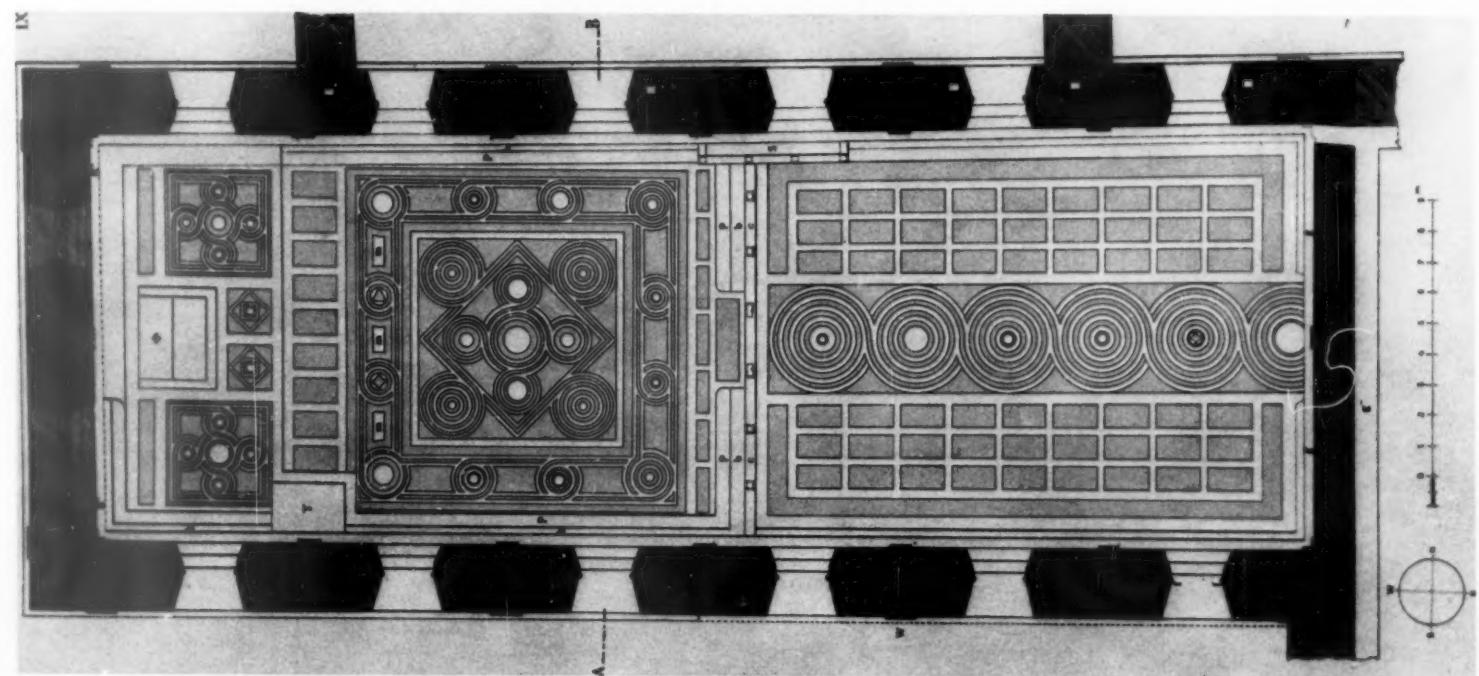
Allowing for the nine borders involved, the tapestries fit the spaces well, providing that the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* was hung across the small door to the right of the altar. As the tapestries were used only on certain feasts and ceremonial occasions, and all processional entries took place through the main doors at the other end of the chapel, it is not unlikely that this small door was temporarily covered up, especially as it was not an original feature of the chapel. The pristine decorative symmetry of the chapel as a whole, and of the chancel in particular, would then be restored.

Even the slight offsetting of the final border on the right wall, caused by the way in which the singing gallery cuts into the painted pilaster framing the series, is matched on the opposite wall by the manner in which the narrow *St. Paul in Prison* overlaps its framing pilaster (text fig. 1). This, significantly, is the only example of a tapestry that is slightly larger than the space allotted to it. In both cases, however, the slight discrepancy involved is rapidly taken up, as all the remaining tapestries are slightly narrower than the painted bays. The offsetting of the borders nearest to the *cancellata* therefore has the triple function of allowing a satisfactory framing of the sequence on one wall, of coping with the awkward remnant of a bay on the opposite wall by widening it enough to make the insertion of a history scene feasible, and finally of maintaining the decorative symmetry of the chapel.

There are only two points that cannot immediately be explained. The first is the relative smallness of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 7) on the altar wall. It is some 40 cm less high and 70 cm less wide than the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Fig. 3), with which it does not, consequently, make a perfect pair. The second is that the *Conversion of Saul* is about 35 cm narrower than might be expected. These discrepancies are small enough when the processes of manufacture are considered and allowance is made for the stretchings and shrinkings that each piece may have



2. *Blinding of Elymas*, Mantuan tapestry (photo: Soprintendenza, Mantua)



1. Sistine Chapel. Reconstruction of original arrangement
(From Steinmann)



3. *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, Vatican tapestry
(photo: Anderson)



5. *Healing of the Lame Man*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



4. *Charge to St. Peter*, Vatican tapestry
(photo: Anderson)



6. *Death of Ananias*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



8. *Conversion of Saul*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



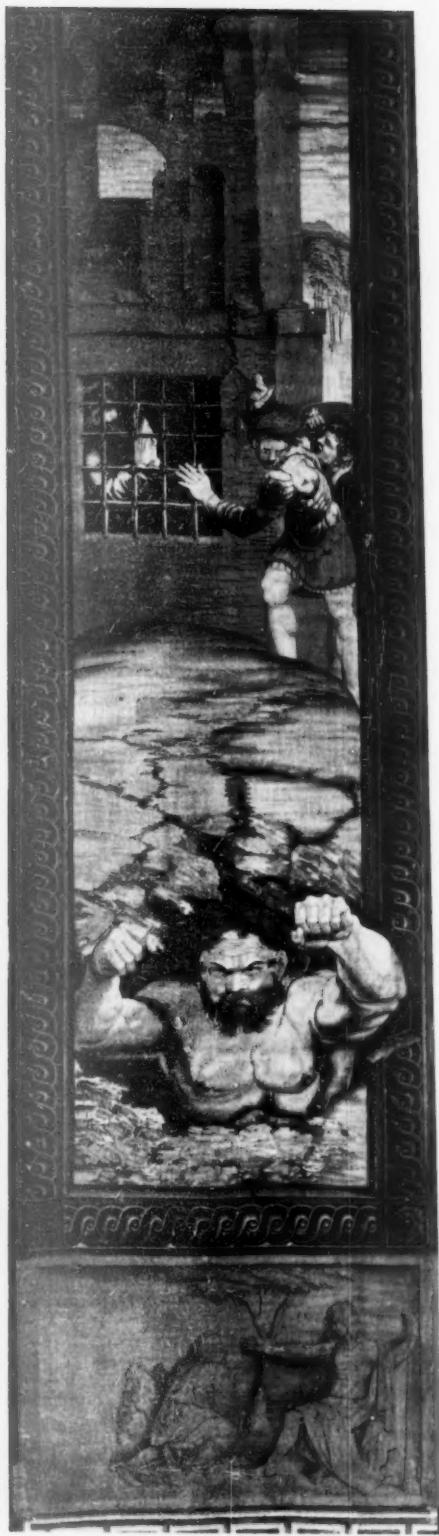
10. *Sacrifice at Lystra*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



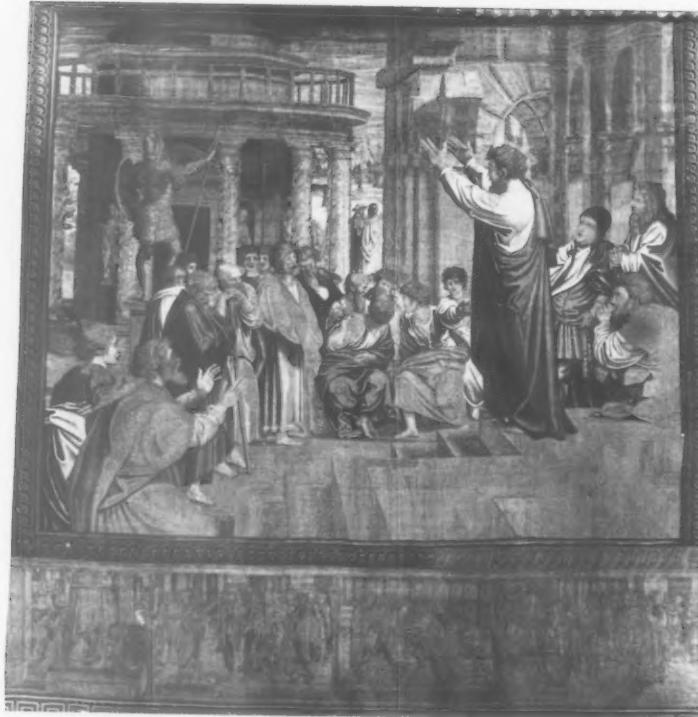
7. *Stoning of St. Stephen*, Vatican tapestry
(photo: Anderson)



9. *Blinding of Elymas*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



11. *St. Paul in Prison*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



12. *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, Vatican tapestry (photo: Anderson)



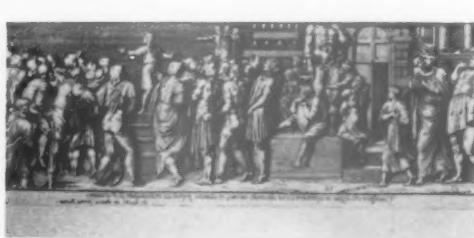
a. *Entry of the Cardinal de' Medici into Florence*, 1492



b. *Journey to Rome, and Leo X Receiving Homage*



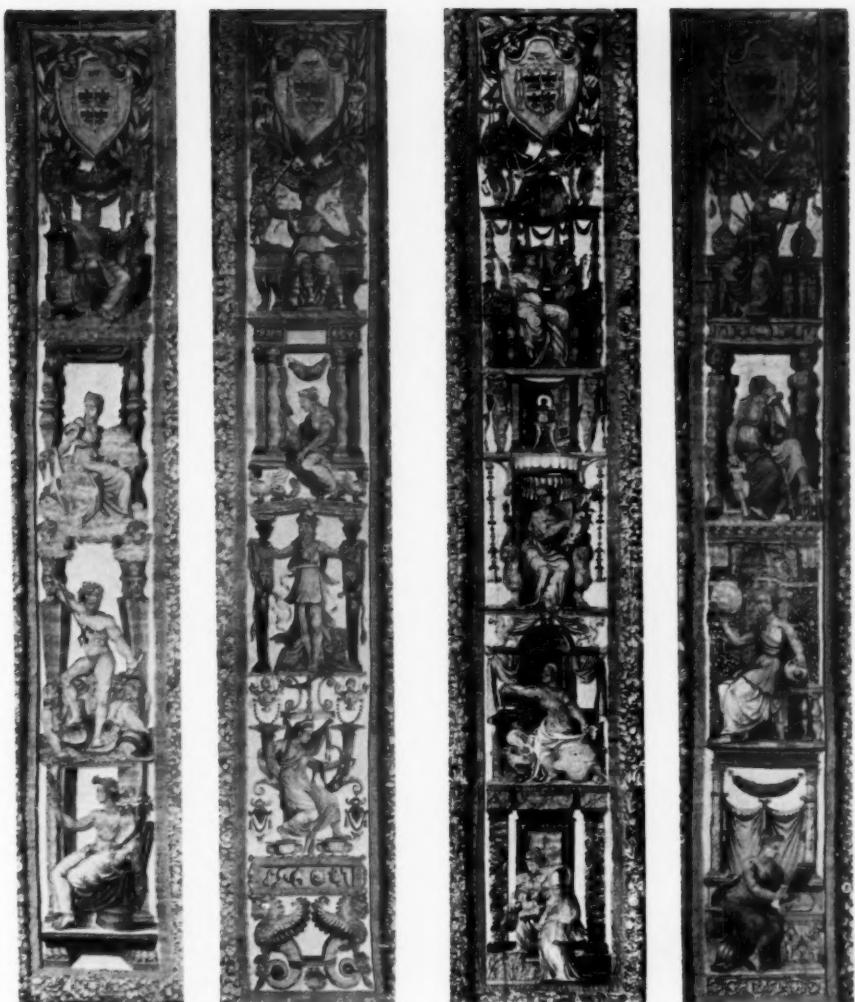
c. *Sack of the Medici Palace, and The Cardinal's Flight from Florence, Disguised as a Monk*, 1494



d. *Soderini's speech to the Florentines, and Return of the Medici to Florence*, 1512



13. Four of the Lower Borders of the Vatican Set (From Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Leonis X admiranda virtutis imagines . . .*)



14. Lateral Borders of Mantuan Set (photo: Soprintendenza, Mantua)



15. Lateral Borders of Vatican Set (photo: a, b, Alinari; c, d, Anderson; e, Anderson and Soprintendenza, Mantua)

e. Hercules, etc. l. present state
r. original design, Mantuan set



a, b. *Muses*

c. *Hercules*



17. *Stoning of St. Stephen*, Mantuan tapestry (photo: Soprintendenza, Mantua)

16. Lateral Borders of Mantuan Set (photo: Soprintendenza, Mantua)



18. *Conversion of Saul*, Mantuan tapestry (photo: Soprintendenza, Mantua)

undergone during its subsequent adventures. At a later stage it can be shown that, even so, these differences of measurement may be partly due to still more specific causes.²⁹

With these minor reservations the tapestries in their suggested order completely cover the wall space of the chancel (text fig. 1).³⁰ No significant gaps are left, and the one case of overlapping is exploited to restore a symmetry which would otherwise have necessarily been disturbed by the intrusion of the singing gallery. It is therefore possible to turn without delay to the implications of the new arrangement in terms of subject matter and composition. This investigation shows, among other things, that the seemingly curious situation of the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* as the only tapestry set outside the chancel area is not a peculiarity which has, as far as possible, to be explained away. Its partial isolation was envisaged by Raphael himself as an essential element in the design both of the individual tapestry and of the series as a whole.

THE TAPESTRIES IN THEIR SETTING

The starting point in any set of narrative illustrations lies in the subject matter. In the case of Raphael's tapestry designs the general inspirational and didactic purpose, which is a common feature of religious art, is reinforced by a direct relevance to the central struggle of contemporary ecclesiastical politics. Both as a series and in detail the tapestries for the papal chapel were clearly intended to re-emphasize the official attitude of the church, and of the Pope at its head, concerning the nature and historical foundation of the powers, position, and function of the papacy. One of the most important features of the suggested reconstruction (text fig. 1) is therefore that the narrative content of the scenes is given its full weight.

The tapestries are now arranged in complete accordance with traditional practice. The stories of SS. Peter and Paul are seen as forming parallel series. These begin, respectively, to the right and left of the altar, and are then continued along the side walls towards the entrance in the approved way. Their disposition is in absolute harmony with that of the scenes from the Life of Christ and the Story of Moses in the zone immediately above them. The *Stoning of St. Stephen*, in particular, is in its rightful place as the opening episode of the history of St. Paul.

The chronological sequence of the main scenes of the tapestries, as laid down in the Gospels and the Acts, is also fully respected. The sequence starts on the right of the altar wall with the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, continuing without break to the *Death of Ananias* next to the singing gallery. This concludes the four scenes in which St. Peter figures, and is therefore the natural place for the pause that precedes the opening of the history of St. Paul.

The *Death of Ananias* (Fig. 6) is itself an episode in the story of how the faithful sold their goods in order to gain money for the poor. The actual distribution of the proceeds can be seen upon the right, and it was the lie involved in withholding part of the money earned that led to the destruction of Ananias. But it was also the need to administer these funds that led to the appointment of the first deacons. It is therefore doubly appropriate that the scene on the left of the altar wall, beginning the story of St. Paul, should be the *Stoning of St. Stephen* who was the church's first deacon as well as its first martyr. The pause in the narrative between the two sequences displayed on opposite walls is clearly expressed. At the same time an emphatic connection is established between the last scene in one series and the first scene in the next.³¹

The sequence of the story of St. Paul is also chronologically exact. The placing of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* in its proper context, together with the siting of the narratives of St. Peter and

29. These divergencies are considered on pp. 216f. below.

30. For fuller analysis of the measurements, see Appendix III, pp. 216f. below. Text fig. 1 is a scale drawing of the tapestries and their wall spaces. The leaving of gaps in the diagram for the sake of clarity means that on the left side where more gaps appear the pilasters are apparently more

offset than on the opposite wall or than is indicated by the measurements.

31. The continuity of subject matter between the last of the St. Peter series and the first of the St. Paul series is also important since it provides a final proof that no further extension of the life of St. Peter was planned.

St. Paul upon the right and left-hand walls respectively also means that there is no break at all in a unity of lighting that embraces the whole series. This, in its turn, harmonizes with, and reinforces, the unity which prevails throughout the frescoed decoration of the chapel. The light falls impartially as if from the windows that were originally set in the altar wall. It flows consistently in the direction of the entrance to the chapel over every painted and each woven surface.

Beyond this general uniformity, the lighting of each tapestry reflects its place upon the wall. The bas-relief beneath the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Fig. 3) on the right of the altar wall is clearly lit from the left, as is the marble frame of the main scene. Within the boundaries of the latter, on the other hand, the flow from left to right is softened in such a way that it is only on investigation that one sees that it is actually maintained. The shadows are so lightened and the composition is so organized that one might easily have taken the scene to have been lit frontally from above. It is in the *Charge to St. Peter* (Fig. 4), the first scene on the right side wall, that the left to right direction of the light-fall glows more definite, while it only achieves its full intensity in the episodes that follow (Fig. 5-6).

Similarly, on the left side of the chapel, the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 7) shows a tendency towards a frontal fall of light. This is particularly obvious in the executioners on the left. In the center and upon the right the flow of light from right to left is intensified by the radiance from the heavenly apparition.

In the *Conversion of St. Paul* (Fig. 8), the first scene on the left side wall, the bas-relief once more reveals the raking fall of light most clearly. Here, as in the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, the modification of the receding surfaces of the central frame means that the play of light upon it is chiefly visible in the guilloche pattern of its frontal surfaces. In all the other tapestries it is upon the plainly shown receding surfaces that the play of light and shade is at its most intense and meaningful (Figs. 9-12). Within the scene of conversion itself, the light flows out in all directions from the centrally placed, flying figure of the Savior and bathes the whole cortege in an unearthly radiance. It seems likely that the receding surfaces of the frames are either attenuated or invisible in both these opening scenes from the story of St. Paul precisely because it is here that the upsetting of the natural flow of light might otherwise lead to compositional difficulties. In the remaining scenes on the left wall the light flows strongly and consistently from right to left, away from the altar and towards the entrance (Figs. 9-12).

The mention of the celestial apparitions leads to the further point that in the new reconstruction (text fig. 1) the four scenes in which the figure of Christ appears are those placed nearest to the altar and in the raised part of the chancel. This harmonizes with the disposition of Michelangelo's ceiling in which the figure of God the Father is likewise placed in the compartments closest to the altar. It is also appropriate that in the tapestries the apparitions of God the Father and of the Risen Christ should come from the direction of the altar (Figs. 3, 4, 7, 8). This is, moreover, only possible if the scenes of the life of St. Paul are on the left. It is just as important, if less visually impressive, that only this arrangement allows the figure of St. Paul in prison (Fig. 11) to pray towards the altar instead of vacantly towards the laity and the chapel door.

The placing of St. Peter to the spectator's right, on the epistle side of the altar, and of St. Paul to his left, on the gospel side, fits well, liturgically speaking. The epistles were directed to the faithful alone, while the gospels were intended not only for the instruction of the converted but also for the conversion of the unbelieving. St. Peter, therefore, as the first head of the church, is appropriately placed upon the right, as is St. Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, on the left.³²

The pictorial precedents are, however, extremely confused. Among the most important reasons for the muddle is the fact that in the early church the officiating priest faced the congregation

³². See St. Paul, Galatians 2:7-8: "The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was committed to Peter; (for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mightily in me toward the Gentiles.)"

during mass. The reverse direction of the altar, in comparison with later practice, meant that the present gospel and epistle sides of the church were interchanged. This is why it is normal in the Early Christian decorative schemes to place St. Peter on the layman's left and St. Paul upon his right. Unfortunately, but perhaps not unexpectedly, this change in the orientation of the altar was not accompanied in mediaeval times by an equally consistent alteration in the siting of pictorial images and cycles.

The confusion was increased by controversies about the liturgical significance of "left" and "right." The right side always was, and still is, the place of honor. As such it constitutes the natural station for St. Peter, prince of the apostles. The question that still had to be decided was whether "left" and "right" should be taken from the point of view of the onlooker or from that of the represented image.

In Raphael's day this problem was not yet finally solved, and for every major cycle with St. Peter on one side and St. Paul on the other there is one in which the position is reversed. As regards the tapestries, however, the answer seems to lie in the particular iconographic situation in the Sistine Chapel itself, and not in the vexed realms of general principles.³³

It has already been noted that the fifteenth century frescoes of the Story of Moses are on the left of the altar from the spectator's point of view, and those of the Life of Christ, the more important figure, are upon the right. Moreover, in the latter scenes, St. Peter plays a leading role on two occasions and is represented four times altogether. A unified presentation of the episodes in which St. Peter occurs was therefore only possible if the tapestries dealing with his life were placed upon the right wall. This disposition also keeps together all the illustrations of the Gospels.³⁴

Within the tapestries themselves, however, there are further clues to Raphael's intentions. These alone might well be thought decisive even without the evidence already advanced.

The adjoining tapestries of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Fig. 3) and the *Charge to St. Peter* (Fig. 4), which open the series, show that Raphael was not content to connect the separate pieces simply by their chronological succession. Their landscapes are not merely pleasantly in harmony with each other. They are actually continuous.

In the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* the two boats have put to sea leaving behind them all the people on the left-hand shore. The prow of the small craft in which Christ is sitting juts out on the right and disappears behind the frame. It is the prow of this same boat that is then drawn up against the shore on the left of the succeeding scene. Not only is the boat set at the same height in the tapestry, but the diagonal line of plant-strewn bank in the foreground of the first of the two scenes is carried on without a break into the second. Another important landscape element in

33. In the Renaissance period the debate was reopened in the 1460's by Pius II's decision to place the statues of SS. Peter and Paul to the left and right, respectively, of the new steps leading up to Old St. Peter's. In the ensuing argument, Pius II's views were supported in an order of ceremonial authorized by Agostino Patrizi in 1488. This document stated that left and right were to be taken in relation to the image of the crucifix above the altar, making the spectator's "left" the liturgical "right." It was this view which finally obtained the official seal of approval, although not until the late sixteenth century and the reign of Pius V. In the intervening period, but later than the Raphael Tapestries, another conspicuous exception to the example of Pius II appeared in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Cappella Paolina; moreover St. Peter is prominently placed on the spectator's right (Christ's left) in the Sistine *Last Judgment*.

Supplementary examples:
St. Peter on the spectator's left, St. Paul right:

Cefalù, main apse.

Santa Maria Maggiore, triumphal arch.

St. Peter's, relief from the chapel of St. Blasius (Schüller-

Piroli, *2000 Jahre Sankt Peter*, Basel 1950, p. 314).
Perugino, the Sistine *Assumption* (perhaps a case influenced less by general principles than by the particularity that the Pope had to be introduced by St. Peter from the left).

St. Peter on the spectator's right, St. Paul left:

San Paolo fuori le Mura, main apse.

Old St. Peter's, main apse. (Schüller-Piroli, p. 95).

Lateran Baptistry, Oratorium of Venantius.

Santa Pudenziana, apse.

St. Peter's, Filarete's bronze doors.

34. There is a connection between Moses and Paul that provides a further cogent reason for the disposition of the left wall. In late Quattrocento Neoplatonic thought Moses and Paul are coupled as instances of inspiration through "furor divinus" (cf. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, p. 140 and n. 35, and A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin et l'Art*, Geneva, 1954, p. 168). It is probably as an instance of some connection of this kind that Michelangelo so clearly repeated the features of his Moses in his St. Paul in the *Last Judgment* (illus. R. de Campos and B. Biagetti, *Il Giudizio universale*, Rome, 1944, II, pl. xxxv).

the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* is the hilly promontory reaching out into the sea from the right-hand border just above the head of Christ. These distant hills, so much more clearly visible both in the original cartoon and in the later tapestry versions, add emphasis to the most important figure. They are also the exact continuation of the range that runs out of the composition at precisely the same height on the left of the *Charge to St. Peter*.

Raphael has been careful to give due weight to the individual significance of each of the adjoining scenes by means of a bold contrast between the colors of the robes worn by the figure of the living Christ at the beginning of his ministry and those worn by the risen counterpart. At the same time, these two episodes are seen as taking place within a single landscape. The unity of place is used to minimize the gap in time and to stress the essential continuity of the story.³⁵ It also makes it impossible either to separate the two scenes or to reverse their relative positions on the wall without making nonsense of the artist's clear intention.

In the two succeeding tapestries, the *Healing of the Lame Man* (Fig. 5) and the *Death of Ananias* (Fig. 6), there is no suggestion of a unity of place, or of a continuity of action within a single setting since both would here be wholly inappropriate to the texts involved. Nevertheless the rectangle of landscape visible through the columns on the right of the miracle of healing is continued in the similar rectangle of landscape on the left of the following scene. This one element of continuity, linking these two very different interiors, stands out clearly by virtue of a carefully accentuated contrast with the darkness and the drama in the foreground.

On the opposite side of the chapel the opening pair of tapestries once more has a landscape setting while the two that follow contain architectural designs. The landscape background in the opening couple adds visual emphasis to the unity already established in the four scenes nearest the altar by the very fact that they are the only ones in which the figure of Christ appears. The general similarity of the landscapes in the *Stoning of St. Stephen* (Fig. 7) and the *Conversion of St. Paul* (Fig. 8), with their stony foregrounds and distant ranges of hills, is reinforced by actual elements of continuity. The patch of stony ground on the left of the *St. Stephen* is continued, for example, on the right of the *St. Paul*. But a more remarkable if less immediately obvious connection is provided by the farthest range of hills on the left of the *Stoning of St. Stephen*. Seemingly covered with fresh snow, they are colored a brilliant blue-tinged white, in sudden contrast to the golden yellows, greens, and dark blues of the rest of the landscape. The tip of this same range of hills is continued as a single, contrasted splash of color, at exactly the same level, in the top right-hand corner of the *Conversion of St. Paul*. Here the motif is so small that it is hardly noticeable in reproduction. Without reference to the *Stoning of St. Stephen* it is meaningless. Thus it confirms that on the left wall, as on the right, the movement of the series cannot be reversed or the sequence interrupted. The *Stoning of St. Stephen* cannot have been designed to stand on the left of the *Conversion of St. Paul* or anywhere except immediately to its right. As on the opposite wall, the landscape background is used by Raphael to accentuate the essential continuity of subject that unites the two opening tapestries.

Among the remaining full-sized tapestries on the left wall there are no more cases of continuous backgrounds. The widely separated and distinct localities in which the scenes take place, in Paphos, at Lystra, and at Athens, preclude the possibility of such devices. Instead, the group of scenes is unified by the heavy coffering and massive piers and columns of the classical architecture with its antique statuary (Figs. 9, 10, 12). This provides the setting in each case, and also emphasizes the references to ancient law, religion, and philosophy that are implicit in the action. The architectural similarities are accentuated by the identical handling in each tapestry of the sunlit golden landscapes visible beyond the buildings. Only in the narrow *St. Paul in Prison* (Fig. 11) is the Roman

35. The location of the two scenes was by the same stretch for the first, and John 21:1-17 for the second. of water; see Luke 5:1-10, Matthew 4:18-22, Mark 1:16-20

architecture treated differently, perhaps because of its awkward shape. Nevertheless, both its size and its position beside the *cancellata* prevent it from disrupting the unity of the major scenes, while allowing it to act as a significant caesura in the decorative scheme.

These architectural and landscape linkages are most important both aesthetically and as confirmation of the soundness of the reconstruction. They are, however, only the foundation of the structure on which Raphael built his decorative design. The unity of lighting has already been discussed. This is reinforced by a spatial pattern created by gently offsetting the perspective center of each design towards a single focal point, or area, valid for the room-space as a whole.

The important centers in the chancel are the altar and the papal throne. These are placed, respectively, in, and at the end of, the first bay, the floor of this whole area being slightly raised (Fig. 1). As all the tapestries in this first bay have landscape settings, architectural perspective is not used. Of the two remaining scenes on the right wall, the *Death of Ananias* shows no tendency towards offsetting of the perspective of its cartoon. It is approximately centralized, although, curiously enough, a quite appreciable offsetting to the left does occur in the tapestry itself (Fig. 6). In the *Healing of the Lame Man*, on the other hand, the perspective center is definitely offset slightly to the left of the tapestry (Fig. 5) as a result of the planning in Raphael's cartoon. It is displaced, in fact, in the direction of the altar and the papal throne.

In both *The Blinding of Elymas* (Fig. 9) and *The Sacrifice at Lystra* (Fig. 10) on the left wall there is a similar, but more appreciable, offsetting to the right. Finally the embrasure of the window in the narrow architectural exterior of the *St. Paul in Prison* (Fig. 11) likewise shows that it is to be seen from the right side.

With this the pattern in the chancel is complete, and it is evident that the architectural perspective of the tapestries on its walls tends to be gently concentrated in the direction of the ceremonial focus of the chapel. The modified perspective unity is designed to express the spatial unity of the chancel and to stress the position of the most important onlooker. At the same time, it is calculated to provide a satisfactory, self-sufficient composition as each tapestry is examined for itself. It is with this latter aim in view that the illusionistic frame of every scene is planned for a spectator standing opposite its center.

Once the significance of the perspective structure of the compositions in the chancel has been realized, it becomes clear that the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* (Fig. 12) cannot possibly have been designed to hang within the same spatial unit. Unlike all three of the other tapestries in which the actions of St. Paul are shown in architectural settings, the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* has its perspective center strongly offset to the left, towards the entrance of the chapel, instead of to the right towards the altar. Since it is impossible, both because of its subject matter and because of its lighting, to place this tapestry on the opposite wall in the series devoted to St. Peter, its unique perspective structure can only be explained if it were to be hung, as it is in the present reconstruction, on the lay-side of the *cancellata*.

The separation of the two main areas of the chapel is emphasized throughout the decorative scheme. The physical division accomplished by the *cancellata* is accentuated by the step which raises the chancel floor above the level of the lay part of the chapel. This dividing line is also recognized, as has been seen, in Michelangelo's ceiling, where it marks the main iconographic boundary, that between the stories of Creation and the history of man's Fall and Degradation.³⁶ In the original decorative scheme a similar care was taken to allow for, and even to exploit, the division of the chapel into two almost equal halves. The original chancel and lay area each occupy three bays. The central bay of each, the second and fifth in the chapel as a whole, is therefore distinguished from its neighbors by its color.³⁷ The painted hangings of the latter have a golden tone, while those of the central bays have a contrasted, silver sheen. This silver accent is even

36. See Appendix 1, p. 213 below.

37. This fact was pointed out by Prof. J. Wilde.

reflected in the single Perugino and three Botticelli history scenes immediately above them on the walls. This intense awareness of the symmetry of the chapel as a whole and of each of its balanced subdivisions, as well as of the latter's separation from each other in a spatial, decorative, and liturgical sense, is powerfully reflected in the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* (Fig. 12).

By the mere fact of its hanging on the lay side of the *cancellata*, it acts as a balance to the opening of the singing gallery which extends into the lay part of the chapel on the opposite wall. Its subject, St. Paul preaching to the Athenian philosophers, the leaders of secular thought in the ancient world, is wholly appropriate to its position. St. Paul not only faces into the lay area as he preaches, but stands on the platform of a flight of steps. His hearers gather at its foot, and those on the left are cut off at the knee by the lower border of the scene. The level at which St. Paul stands is the ground level for all the tapestries on the chancel walls. The lower plane on which his audience gathers is the pictorial, monumentalized counterpart of the actual, architectural change in level that occurs between the chancel and the lay part of the chapel itself.³⁸ Finally, the perspective center of the scene is not displaced towards the altar on the right. Instead, it is offset towards the left, towards the center of the lay space. This previously mentioned fact now takes on positive significance. The spectator here is not the Pope upon his throne. It is the laity thronging in this second space—the modern counterpart of St. Paul's original audience in antiquity. For all these reasons it seems certain, not only that the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* must have been separated from the rest of the tapestries, but also that it must have hung in this particular position and no other.

The final corroboration of this mass of internal and external evidence lies in the entry in Marcantonio Michiel's diary which, though so far only mentioned in passing, could very well have provided the starting point for this inquiry. This is the sole surviving, detailed, eye-witness account of the original hanging of the tapestries in December 1519. It both confirms the placing of this particular tapestry and verifies the accuracy of the entire reconstruction. The relevant passage reads:

This Christmas the Pope showed in the Chapel 7 pieces of tapestry, since the eighth had not arrived. . . .

The histories of the aforesaid tapestries were, the Conversion of St. Andrew and St. James in the fishing boats; the donation, which Christ makes to St. Peter of the keys; the conversion of Saint . . . in the Temple of Solomon, through the curing of certain cripples, which is done by Christ; the stoning of St. Stephen; the Conversion of St. Paul; the Conversion of the Consul Sergius through the restoration of sight to a blind man, which is done by St. Paul; the objection of St. P. to a sacrifice to the Idols in the Temple of Mars.³⁹

Despite the obvious misunderstanding of the subject matter of the *Healing of the Lame Man* and of the *Blinding of Elymas*, Michiel's meaning is clear and the tapestries are given in their correct chronological sequence, so that their order coincides with that suggested in the reconstruction. The opening statement that only a single tapestry was missing seems, however, to be an odd remark when there were in fact three tapestries still to come, namely the *Death of Ananias*, the *St. Paul in Prison*, and the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*. Nevertheless, if the tapestries were hung in the proposed positions, the reasons for the discrepancy are immediately made plain.

When Michiel looked into the chancel, he would have seen the seven tapestries that he describes hung in their natural order and correct positions (text fig. 1). This would have left the single large gap of the empty bay beside the singing gallery, which was eventually to be filled by the *Death of Ananias*. The only other empty space upon the three walls of the chancel was the half-a-yard on the left wall between the *cancellata* and the painted pilaster closing in the third bay. No stretch of the imagination is required to explain why Michiel did not realize that a strip-like

38. It is only upon reflection that one realizes how odd the spatial construction of this scene is. All the other scenes show the ground level beginning, apparently, above the grisaille dado in the normal manner. In the *St. Paul Preaching at*

Athens, the Saint again stands on this higher level, while his audience, now completed in the spatial and narrative senses by the spectator, is ranged on a lower level.

39. For the Italian text, see Golzio, *Raffaello*, pp. 103f.

tapestry, the *St. Paul in Prison*, had been allotted to this space. There was similarly nothing to show him that a further tapestry, the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, was to hang outside the area of the chancel altogether.

Michiel's rather garbled description of the content of the tapestries that he did see shows that he relied on the evidence of his own eyes, and not upon authoritative information. It is a fortunate paradox that his mistakes are a guarantee that the order which he gives is the one that he actually saw. It is clear that he was ignorant of the real subjects of a number of scenes. It is therefore impossible to argue that his familiarity with the biblical texts was such that, when he came to write his diary, he automatically rearranged the tapestries into the exact chronological sequence which corresponds to that of their true content. His mistake in thinking that only a single tapestry was missing was, as a result, entirely natural if, and only if, the scenes were hung in the order and in the positions that have been suggested for them. Any arrangement other than the one proposed must, at the very best, run counter either to the sequence that he gives or to his implicit statement that the series looked as if it were all but complete.

So far it is only the main scenes that have been scrutinized. An extension of the survey to the bas-reliefs beneath them shows that these too are arranged in a convincing pattern.

The episodes from Medicean history on the pair of tapestries that decorate the altar wall depict the most important happenings in Leo X's ecclesiastical career—its early climax and its final culmination. Underneath the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, on the left, is the scene which has been shown to represent the *Entry into Florence as Cardinal*, 1492 (Fig. 13 a). On the right, beneath the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, are the twin scenes of the *Journey to Rome*, 1513, and *Leo X Receiving Homage*, 1513 (Fig. 13 b). These are appropriate episodes to take the places of honor upon either side of the altar.

The remaining scenes from Medicean history, all of them situated on the right-hand wall, deal entirely with political, rather than with strictly ecclesiastical events, and consequently form an equally satisfactory group. What is just as important is the fact that they are arranged in an accurate chronological sequence which reads in the same direction as that of the main scenes. The six episodes involved are: *Pillage of the Medici Palace*, 1494, and *Flight of the Medici*, 1494; *Journey to the North*, 1499-1500, and *Battle of Ravenna*, 1512; and finally, *Gonfaloniere Soderini Addressing the Florentines*, 1512, and *Entry into Florence*, 1512 (Figs. 13 c, 13 d).

The coherent sequence of the Medicean histories adds conviction to a reconstruction that was, naturally, based upon the main scenes rather than upon the small subsidiary episodes. Apart from detailed confirmation of their content, the stories from the life of St. Paul in the similar fictive reliefs on the opposite wall present no problem. Investigation shows that the passages illustrated seem to be closely related to the texts reflected in the main panels.⁴⁰ The chronological sequence of the borders is consequently dependent upon that of the scenes above them. It is only consistent with a tapestry order that is satisfactory for the latter. Even the fact that this order runs from right to left, and not from left to right, is confirmed by an attempt to maintain the right-to-left chronological sequence within the individual reliefs. As far as is possible in face of a difficult format, accentuating the problems caused by the multiplicity of scenes in each relief, the chronological sequence echoes the main flow along the wall.

There remains only the problem of the content and the placing of the figured pilaster borders that provide the lateral framing of the tapestries and articulate the set, and then the physical reconstruction is complete.

Unfortunately, only five of the original lateral borders still exist. Of these survivors, three—the *Fates* (Fig. 15 a), the *Theological Virtues* (Faith, Hope, Charity) (Fig. 15 d), and *Hercules with the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes* (Fig. 15 e) are fixed in position. They are woven as one

40. See Appendix IV, p. 218 below.

piece with the *Charge to St. Peter*, the *Death of Ananias*, and the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, of which they form the right-hand borders in the first two cases and the left-hand border in the last. The remaining pair, showing the *Seasons of the Year* (Fig. 15 b) and the *Hours of the Day* (Fig. 15 c), have been detached, and the former is now sewn onto the left of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, while the latter hangs alone.

Even here there is a submerged snag which proves beyond all doubt that at the moment of conversion from cartoon to tapestry Raphael's original intention was distorted by a serious muddle in van Aelst's workshop. For a number of reasons, of which the most important is that it is sharply lit from the right while every other element in the tapestry, main scene and lower border alike, is just as strongly illuminated from the left, the border with *The Theological Virtues* can be shown not to have been designed for the position on the right of *The Death of Ananias* in which it was actually woven (Fig. 6). Such errors could easily occur, as the cartoons of the lateral borders must have been separate from those of the main scenes and, unlike those for the lower borders, formed no part of any definite chronological sequence. The links between their subject matter and that of the main scenes were also of a singularly subtle kind. The result is that not one but two reconstructions are required: a reconstruction of Raphael's original plan as well as of the order which in fact emerged from van Aelst's looms.

The first essential is to find out the number, subject-matter, and design of the pieces that are lost. It is clear that several must indeed have disappeared, as there is no way of arranging the five survivors so as to cover even a reasonably distributed fraction of the nine pilasters involved. This fragmentary quality is also evident in the content. Luckily, it seems to be possible to gain a detailed and accurate answer to every one of the outstanding questions by exploiting the two sets of tapestries, complete with lateral borders, that were woven by van Aelst within a year or so of the completion of the Sistine Chapel suite, and that are now in Mantua and Madrid respectively.

It is the length and unavoidable complexity of the technical processes involved, and not a weakness in the argument or inconclusiveness in the result, that makes it necessary to relegate the detailed analyses to an appendix.⁴¹ The investigation shows that nine designs were actually planned by Raphael and sent north, and these would therefore have exactly filled the nine pilaster spaces indicated in the reconstruction. These nine subjects, taken in order (text fig. 1) are, starting at the corner pilaster between the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* and the *Charge to St. Peter*, (1) *Four Elements*, (2) *Fates*, (3) *Seasons*, (4) *Hours*; and continuing from the corner pilaster between *Stoning of St. Stephen* and *Conversion of Saul*, (5) *Trivium*, (6) *Quadrivium*, (7) *Cardinal Virtues*, (8) *Theological Virtues*, (9) *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes*.

The list reveals that the nine borders form a complete and satisfactory group as far as content is concerned. The ancestry of the cycle within the encyclopaedic tradition is indeed entirely orthodox. Furthermore, the borders fall into two self-contained yet complementary series that correspond to the two sides of the chapel. This unity built up of balanced contrast is in full agreement with the pattern set by the main scenes.

On the right wall, the *Four Elements*, *Fates*, *Seasons*, and *Hours* create a compact, natural unity. The blind natural forces that control the destinies of man are summarized, contrasting with the stories of divine intervention which they frame. The eternal realities of the soul are opposed to the transience and uncertainty of earthly existence. On the left wall are the Liberal Arts, the symbol of human achievement and of man's ability to understand and control his natural environment. Here also are the Seven Virtues, the spiritual weapons of salvation and the means by which the forces of spiritual chaos may be conquered. Finally, beyond the *cancellata*, the figure of Hercules presents the symbols of the universe, the scene of man's unending struggle, epitomized in Hercules' conquest of the centaur, symbol of his lower nature. The pattern of arrangement for the borders is as clear and purposeful as the arrangement of the main scenes.

41. See Appendix V, 219f. below.

In the absence of a written program or contemporary commentary, the tracing of more detailed iconographic relationships is usually hazardous and certainly cannot be used for reconstructive purposes. It does seem possible, however, that some direct connection was from the first intended to exist between each border and its flanking histories, or at least that the juxtapositions (which in fact occurred) were at times exploited in the process of design.

The *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes* is, of course iconographically immovable in its position next to the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, where it is both a summary of, and an introduction to, the whole encyclopedic program. There also seems to be a particularly close connection between the *Four Elements* (Fig. 14 a) and the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Fig. 3) with its wide expanse of sea and sky, and the wind-and-weather-dominated occupation of the fishermen, on one side, and the *Charge to St. Peter* (Fig. 4) with its verdant landscape and pastoral theme on the other. No other position in the series can provide so intimate a relationship of content. Indeed it is the very presence of the border that appears to offer a key to the otherwise extremely curious prominence given to a fire raging in the township in the background of the *Charge to St. Peter*. A similar connection seems to exist between the *Theological Virtues* (Fig. 15 d) and the *St. Paul in Prison* (Fig. 11) where both faith and hope (the latter formally echoing the attitude of St. Paul), and finally, in the moment of delivery, a charity that was the temporal and spiritual salvation of the jailer, are all of them central to the subject.

Whether or not there was purpose behind such further relationships as the placing of the *Quadrivium* behind the throne of Leo, who seemed at times to be less famed as a Pope than as a patron of the arts, or the setting of the *Trivium* next to the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, notable also for the great and moving sermon that preceded it, the subject matter of the borders on the left wall appears as something more than a satisfactory grouping that has particular connections with individual scenes. The Virtues and the Arts do more than merely oppose the Fates and Seasons, Elements and Hours, upon the other wall. They give added meaning to a wall on which the principal scenes are concerned with Christian eloquence and the power of Christian virtue; with antique knowledge and divine revelation; and, not least, with the replacement of antique religion and Roman justice and military power by the Christian faith and by the justice and the power of God.

It is at this point that the full significance of the Medicean reliefs on the right wall can be appreciated. It has already been observed that the subject matter of their counterparts upon the opposite wall, deriving from the Acts, is directly complementary to that of the main scenes above them. In comparison the Medicean histories seem at first to be less fully integrated with the general scheme.

Considered as an isolated group they present a rather curious picture. The sequence opens with two episodes that represent the very nadir of the fortunes of the Medici. The unmitigated disaster of the sack and flight is followed by the exiled Giovanni's wanderings in the north. This in its turn is succeeded by the battle of Ravenna, in which the immediate outcome was the capture of the Cardinal and, to all appearances, the complete frustration of his hopes. It was only subsequently that this battle turned out to be the watershed in the fortunes of the victorious French and the prelude to their expulsion from Italy. This scene then gives way to one that shows Piero Soderini in the process of urging the Florentines to resist the return of the Medici to their birthplace. Only in the final episode of the entry into Florence is there a straightforward scene of triumph. All in all it is a curious choice of subject matter for a Medici commission.

The purpose behind the selection of this particular series of events becomes apparent when it is related to the content of the lateral borders. These pilaster-strips were to be occupied by the *Elements* and the *Fates*, the *Seasons* and the *Hours*. The blind forces of the universe were to be contrasted to the workings of Divine omnipotence revealed in the main panels. In such a

context nothing could be more fitting than the terrestrial, secular story that unfolds in the lower borders, telling of the long series of apparently disastrous blows which fate and the passage of time dealt to the Medici house and, in particular, to Leo X himself. The onlooker is shown in detail how each seeming catastrophe was turned to profit. He sees how, by God's will, the triumph of the just cause of the Medici, and therefore of the church, was, in the end, assured in spite of every seemingly overwhelming obstacle. The final victory over fate provides the subject for the last scene on the right wall. These illustrations of the reversal of earthly and political ill-fortune therefore do much more than merely record the papal patron and fill in the story of ecclesiastical triumph represented in the lower borders on the altar wall.

The lateral borders of the tapestries on the left wall dealing with St. Paul clearly refer, apart from their more general implications, to Leo, the protector of the arts and virtues, who had in fact been lauded as such from the time of his coronation. Here, on the right wall, the general meaning of the lateral borders is, with the help of the Medicean scenes in the lower friezes, again charged with particular significance. This time it is Leo the conqueror of misfortune, the master of the blind natural forces, and of time in particular, who is celebrated. Contemporary epigrams show that such views of him were current at an early date.⁴² Not only was he famous for the seemingly miraculous reversals of ill-fortune with which his career is studded, but chronological coincidence and astrological superstition seem to have played a considerable role in his affairs. Leo's lucky number was said to be eleven, and it is a fact that he was born on December 11, 1475, that he fought at Ravenna on April 11, 1512, that he was elected Pope on March 11, 1513, and that he took part in the great Lateran procession on April 11 of that same year. This last event, his first important public activity as Pope, not only took place on the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna, which was also the feast of St. Leo, a coincidence that may well lie at the root of his choice of name, but the new Pope rode up on the same white Arab steed that had carried him in the battle.

In the light of such considerations it can be seen that the Medicean borders play their full part within the pattern of a cycle that is coherent in its every aspect. Each seeming oddity of subject matter or of composition becomes rich in meaning once it has been related to the intended overall design.

It is probable that linkages such as these by no means complete the network of significant interrelationships envisaged in the planning of the tapestries.⁴³ Each further investigation does,

42. For contemporary epigrams noting the elements of chance and time in Leo's life, see L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, English ed., 1908, VII, p. 33 and note.

43. The question of correspondences between the tapestries, in their suggested arrangement, and the series of frescoes above requires the careful treatment of a specialist, but we would suggest that the following points are not accidental, and confirm the reconstruction.

(1) There is a formal connection of the greatest significance between the tapestry and fresco in the center of the left wall of the chancel; each is closed by the emphatic vertical of an architectural feature on the right. Paul's gesture may also be compared with that of Moses as he drives away the shepherds.

(2) Similarly, in the bay immediately opposite, there are connections of a similar nature. The temple of Jerusalem is the setting of the scene in the tapestry, and is again in the center of Botticelli's fresco as the scene of the second temptation (see Luke 4:9). It is revealing to place a photograph of the fresco above one of the tapestry; the regular verticals of one repeat those of the other, the pediment of Botticelli's temple is echoed in the tabernacle of the altar below, and on the right of each is the young woman moving rapidly to the center, accompanied by a child, and carrying objects of ritual significance on her head.

(3) It is legitimate to postulate a connection of the same

kind between the lost fresco of the Adoration and the Miraculous Draught, with the figures kneeling before the Savior. In the tapestry, the prominence of the cranes in the foreground makes it certain that they should be interpreted in their symbolic sense, which, since antiquity, has been that of filial piety. (For the continuation of this tradition into early Christian writing, see W. W. Lloyd, *Christianity in the Cartoons*, London, 1865.) To this may be added a secondary, associated connotation of loyalty to a king which was certainly current about 1500 (e.g. cranes are quoted in this sense by Leonardo: see E. MacCurdy, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1938, II, p. 471). This symbolism exposes a further connection between the tapestry and the fresco. The motif of expressing loyalty to the new king in each is coupled to the dedication to service at the expense of family ties which Christ demanded of his apostles after his own example: "Whoso loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." (Matthew 10:37)

(4) The confrontation of the subjects of the frescoes and of the tapestries beneath in this reconstruction, shows at once convincing correspondences of a general nature (such as "healing," or "the laying down of the old law and the preaching of the new dispensation"), but a detailed treatment of the problem along these lines must wait for the publication of a proper study of the content of the Quattrocento frescoes.

however, serve to confirm the accuracy of a reconstruction that seems to be attested by the authority of the surviving documents, by the logic of the physical situation and of its own structural outlines, and finally, by the way in which innumerable interlocking details can be seen to intensify the meaning of the whole.

In the very reconstructive process itself something of the lost significance in terms both of content and of artistic vision has emerged already. With the completion of this fundamental task the way is finally clear for an attempt to gain a fuller understanding and appreciation of one of the great monuments of European art.

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APPENDICES

I. THE DATING OF THE MOVING OF THE CANCELLATA

The marks of the original disposition of the *cancellata* still survive upon the floor and on the surface of the singing gallery. There are also traces of the change in the altered quality of the carving in the additions to the right-hand end of the screen necessitated by its new position clear of the singing gallery. The late date of the move must still, however, be substantiated as its occurrence before the planning of the tapestries has in fact been suggested.⁴⁴

The Vaccari and Brambilla engravings of 1578 and 1582 show that the *cancellata* had been moved and the throne and altar platform raised by then.⁴⁵ The diary of Mucantius, the Papal Master of Ceremonies to Gregory XIII, even provides a slightly earlier *terminus ante quem*.⁴⁶ An entry from the end of 1573 reports that on Christmas night there had been only twelve torches in the chapel instead of the necessary twenty-four, and that "it will therefore have to be seen to for other occasions, since the chapel is nowadays greatly enlarged and has been made much longer than it was in former times."

In fact, the chapel as a whole has never been enlarged at all, apart from the few inches involved in the setting back of the altar wall to take Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. In speaking of the chapel Mucantius is therefore referring only to the part reserved for the Pope and the cardinals, and used on this occasion—namely the present chancel. The nature of the mistake on which he comments implies in itself that the alterations were of fairly recent date. This seems to be confirmed by a woodcut plan of the conclave held in 1550. There, the *cancellata* is clearly labeled and appears in its old place, almost in the center of the chapel.⁴⁷

The design of Michelangelo's ceiling is evidence

that the *cancellata* was in its original position when that work was planned in 1508. The main iconographic division in the histories running down the center of the vault is that between the stories of the Creation and the Fall. This division coincides exactly with the old position of the *cancellata*.⁴⁸ The five scenes of the Creation all take place above the original chancel; the four scenes of Fall and Degradation over what was then the lay area. It seems to be most unlikely either that any change was made while Michelangelo was still working or that the new scheme was upset within a year or two of completion. The ceiling was unveiled in August 1512, and the tapestries had already been commissioned by mid-1515 at the latest. There seems, therefore, to be ample confirmation of the accuracy of the conclave plan of 1550.

The description of the chapel in Johannes Fichard's *Italia* of 1536, has nevertheless been used to support an earlier dating of the move. The relevant passage runs:

The chapel is of rectangular shape, but long. The width is small. That part into which the Pontiff, the Cardinals and the Bishops with their attendants enter, and in which there is both the congregation of the latter and the altar itself, is separated by a parapet and silvered iron grating a little beyond a third from the remainder in which the guests and the general public stand. Nearby, on its right, high up, as if on a balcony, stand the choristers who are most sonorous.

It has been observed that "on its right" in the third and final sentence refers to "locus ille," the chancel, of the preceding sentence, and not to "sacellum," the whole chapel, with which the passage opens.⁴⁹ Hence it is argued that the singing gallery lay entirely within the chancel, as at present, and furthermore that the

44. See J. von Schmidt ("Über anordnung und Komposition der Teppiche Raffaels," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.f. 15, 1904, pp. 285-289), who quotes the sources mentioned below.

45. See above, note 25.

46. Cod. Corsin. 986: *Diarium di Mucantius I*, p. 86; quoted by Steinmann, *op.cit.*, I, p. 161 n. 1.

47. Illus. C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo, The Sistine Ceiling*,

Princeton, 1945, pl. 256.

48. This was first pointed out by Steinmann, *op.cit.*, II, p. 220.

49. Schmidt, *op.cit.*, who quotes the Latin Fichard text, originally printed by A. Schmarsow, "Excerpte aus Joh. Fichards 'Italia' von 1536," *Repertorium für Kunstschaft*, XIV, 1891, p. 136.

"little beyond a third" cannot refer to the original size of the section for the laity.

The first of these two points appears to rest upon an ambiguity. If the meaning is indeed taken to be that on the right of the chancel is a singing gallery, this could equally well describe the present situation with the gallery completely inside the chancel, or the earlier position involving only partial enclosure (Fig. 1).

In the second case the wording shows, if anything, that the *cancellata* was in its original place. The lay space now takes up exactly a third of the chapel, and not a little more than a third. And, while the wording may seem rather odd as a description of the original arrangement in which the lay part took up nearly half the chapel, it does actually describe it and cannot be said to be incorrect. The fact that one might have expected or preferred some phrase such as "a little less than half," instead of "a little more than a third," is irrelevant in face of an author such as Fichard who, writing in 1536, could mention a couple of sentences later that the chapel was very famous and entirely painted by Raphael! Certainly there seems to be nothing in his description that impugns the evidence of the conclave plan of 1550, much less shows that the movement of the *cancellata* preceded the planning of the tapestries in 1515 or before. The plan of 1550 does not, however, indicate the steps running across the chapel, so that in this respect there is only the *terminus ante quem* of the engraving of 1578. Nevertheless, it is likely that the change was associated either with the movement of the *cancellata* or else with the rearrangement of the altar wall in 1535 in preparation for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.

II. THE HISTORY AND DOCUMENTATION OF CARTOONS AND TAPESTRIES

A. The Cartoons

June 15, 1515. 300 ducats paid to Raphael as part payment for cartoons.⁵⁰

December 20, 1516. 134 ducats paid to Raphael for (? final) payment for cartoons.⁵¹

The cartoons were then sent to van Aelst's workshop and there cut up into slips for use. Copies must have been made, and the originals were immediately regarded as works of art in their own right; thus, one is found in a Venetian collection as early as the third decade.

1521. "In Casa del Cardinal Grimano . . . El Cartone grande de la Conversione de S. Paulo fo de mano de Rafaello, fatto per un dei razzi della Capella."⁵²

1528. The same cartoon was in the collection of his

50. V. Golzio, *Raffaello*, Vatican City, 1936, p. 38.

51. Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

52. Th. Frimmel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano*, Vienna, 1896, p. 104.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 98. It is also mentioned in an inventory of Marino Grimani's effects drawn up in this year (R. Paschini, "Le collezioni archeologiche dei Grimani," *Rendiconti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, v, 1928, p. 182; this reference was kindly brought to our notice by Mr. Jurgen Schultz.)

nephew, Cardinal Marino Grimani the Patriarcha d'Aquileia.⁵³

From this date until the seventeenth century the cartoons are lost sight of.

1623. Four years after the foundation of the Mortlake Tapestry Factory by James I, Prince Charles, writing from Madrid (March 28), asks for money to be set aside for the arrival of "certayne patterns to be brought out of Italy, and sent to us into England for the making thereby a Suite of Tapestry. w^{ch} drawings (as we remember) are to cost neir upon the poyn of Seaven hundred pounds." For the time of arrival the Council are referred to Sir Francis Crane, the manager of Mortlake.⁵⁴

June 28, 1623. A letter from Sir Francis Crane to the King refers to an order given by Prince Charles before his journey, "to send to Genua for certayne drawings of Raphaell of Urbin, which were desseignes for tapestries made for Pope Leo X, and for which there is 300^{l.} to be payed, besides their charge of bringing home."⁵⁵

The legend that Charles I bought the cartoons through Rubens depends upon an inscription in Dognigny's dedication of his engravings to George I, 1719.

The number of cartoons that entered into the English Royal Collection is first mentioned in van der Doort's inventory; there were already only seven.⁵⁶

The history of the seven cartoons from this point is—except for minor details—perfectly clear, and does not affect the present argument. Only one such detail concerns their actual survival; the earliest Mortlake versions of the *Blinding of Elymas* (made in the 1630's) include an architectural feature on the right, somewhat similar to, but by no means the same as, the van Aelst version, which is, however, missing from at least one other English version: namely that made in 1701 for Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham. This may mean that the corresponding part of the cartoon was not lost until the later seventeenth century, but it is more probable that this part is a reconstruction. In the very accurate series of copies by Mytens at Knole, given by Charles I to Edward Sackville, fourth Earl of Dorset, neither the original strip nor the probable reconstruction appears.

Of the remaining three cartoons the only reference again concerns the *Conversion of Saul*. Vertue records that this "is said to be in Spain."⁵⁷

B. The Tapestries

July, 1517. Record by De Beatis of tapestries being made, for the Sistine Chapel, in Flanders.⁵⁸

April 21, 1518. Payments for transport of eleven tapestries (unspecified) from Flanders to Rome, via Lyons. Probably not connected with the Raphael set.⁵⁹

54. Volume in Duchy of Cornwall Office, p. 4, Affairs of Charles, Prince of Wales.

55. *European Magazine*, October 10, 1786, p. 285; M. D. Whinney and O. Millar, *English Art, 1625-1714*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 3, 126-127.

56. Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1514, fol. 172.

57. *Walpole Society*, XVIII, 1930, p. 50.

58. See above, p. 194; Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 370.

59. G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito . . .*, II, p. 222; Golzio,

July 4, 1519. Letter from Venetian Ambassador announces arrival of three tapestries, and from the exceptional value indicated one may assume that this reference concerns the first of the Raphael set. "De molti pezze di arazzi che'l Pontefice fa far in Fiandra per fornire le camere et capella, finora ne sono stati portati tre, di tanta perfectione et pretio, che vagliono cento ducati el brazo, nè si stimano cari."⁶⁰

December 26, 1519 (St. Stephen's Day). Exhibition of tapestries in the Sistine Chapel. "Papa ipsa die jussit appendi suos pannos de Rassia novos, pulcherrimos, pretiosos, de quibus tota cappella stupefacta est in aspectu illorum, qui, ut fuit universale judicium, sunt res, quibus non est aliquid in orbe pulchrius et unumquodque pretium est valoris duorum millium ducatorum auri in auro."⁶¹

December 27, 1519. Description of the exhibition: seven pieces, the eighth not being yet available, after Raphael's design.⁶²

Early December, 1521. List of the tapestries, supplementary to the inventory of Leo X.

The reference in Golzio (p. 371) is only an abridgement; the entry itself (see note 10) is in full, but need not be given here. The following points must be made:

1. All ten tapestries, as now existing in the Vatican, are described explicitly; there are no additional subjects.

2. The measurements given vary considerably from the present ones; however, careful checking of the inventory as a whole has shown that these variations should in no case be used for any argument (such as the presence then of woven borders at the sides) since:—(a) the discrepancies in linear dimensions are of the order of demonstrable errors elsewhere in the inventory (i.e. certain other tapestries are described by mistake twice, with different dimensions). (b) There is in the entry on the Raphael set a second discrepancy, again demonstrably an error and paralleled elsewhere, in the computation of areas from the linear dimensions stated in ells. The dimensions given are clearly only approximate and their exactitude was of no significance to the compiler.

3. From a footnote and a marginal interpolation

op.cit., p. 69; see also the tapestry payment of June 18, 1518, Golzio, p. 70.

60. *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, xxvii, Venice, 1890, p. 470; Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 101.

61. *Diario di Leone X di Paride de' Grassi . . .*, ed. Armellini, Rome, 1884, p. 77; Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

62. E. A. Cicogna, *Intorno la vita e le opere di Marcantonio Michiel (Memorie dell'I. R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, IX)*, Venice, 1860, p. 405; Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 103. See above, p. 196 and p. 208 on which the relevant part of the text is quoted.

63. Published in *extenso*, but with some inaccuracies, by E. Müntz in *Chronique des arts*, 28, 1876, p. 247, and in "Histoire de la tapisserie en Italie," *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, ed. Guiffrey, Paris, 1879-1884, pp. 19-21. See also Müntz, *Chronique des arts*, 29, 1876, p. 254 n. 1.

E. Müntz, *Histoire*, p. 20, notes the words "p(ro) Ser(vi)tio Cappell Sixti" on fol. 15 of the Leo X inventory, stating them to be opposite an entry listing tapestries of the Passion, and then connects these with seven scenes of the Passion, measuring 320 alle and used in the Sistine Chapel, mentioned in an inventory of 1608. In fact these words on the inventory

(dated December 17, 1521) it appears that seven of these tapestries were mortgaged at that time.⁶³

May 1527. For the lying-in-state of the Constable de Bourbon, the Sistine Chapel was "apparata di quelle riche et più belle tapezarie di Nostro Signore," and this probably means that the Raphael set was still in the Vatican.⁶⁴

After this date the tapestries were dispersed; it appears likely that three went north, and the remainder south.

Group I

1528. "In casa de M. Zuanantonio Venier . . . Li duei pezzi de razzo de seda et doro, istoriati, luno della conversione de S. Paulo, laltro della predicatione (i.e. Paul at Athens) furono fatti far da papa Leone cun el disegno de Rafaello d'Urbino . . ."⁶⁵

December 31, 1530. Letter written on behalf of Clement VII: "Mess. Giovanfrancesco da Mantua: diteli che ho la sua, et facto intendere all papa delli panni, dice sono a leone (Lyons.) dilchè dice S. Santità, che sono di quelli della historia di S. Piero, et di quelli che Raphaello da Urbino fece li cartoni; che per li 160 ducati, chel scrive, li piglierà altrimenti non li vuole."⁶⁶ It is not stated how many pieces were offered (there must have been more than one, but not many—as is clear from the price) and the outcome of the negotiations is unknown.

1553. The *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, and the *Preaching at Athens* were returned by the Constable Anne de Montmorency to Julius III.⁶⁷ It is possible that the *Conversion of Saul* was also returned at the same time.

Group II

September 1532. Two letters from Naples, to the Pope.⁶⁸

(a) September 8, in Spanish. ". . . cuatro paños de los ricos y modernos de la capilla de V.S. ta . . ." are in the possession of ". . . ciertos hombres d'armas . . ." and a fifth ". . . un quarto de paño de la misma suerte d'estos . . ." has already been returned to Rome.

are a marginal comment on the same level as the heading of a long list of "Tapezarie empte t(em)p(o)re Smi DM Leonis X^ml," and not opposite the first entry listing two large and two small tapestries of the Passion (corrected to six, "quattuor mediocre . . . et duo magni finca altitudini") which do not seem to have been a set. Hence it follows that any, or all, of the many tapestries in the group, which also includes 20 of the Passion (with no dimensions), may have been for the chapel. There is no necessary connection with the seven pieces of the inventory of 1608, which measured only 320 alle as against the 582 of the *Acts* and so cannot represent an earlier, complete decorative scheme. It is, however, possible, on the evidence, that from time to time an *ad hoc* selection of Leo's tapestries was hung in the chapel, and that it was partly in order to replace this rather haphazard decoration that Raphael's set was commissioned.

64. M. Sanuto, *op.cit.*, XLII, p. 700, and XLV, p. 418.

65. Frimmel, *op.cit.*, p. 98 (M. Michiel).

66. Gaye, *op.cit.*, II, p. 222.

67. Inscription at bottom of borders.

68. A. Mercati, *Anedotti per la storia dei pontefici*, Pio II, Leone X, Rome, 1934, pp. 17-18, docs. III-IV.

(b) September 9, in Italian, and a different correspondent. ". . . in . . . Napoli sono più persone tanto christiane quanto che hebrei, quali tengono alcuni panni d'oro et di seta bellissimi occulti di gran valore havuti del sacerdotio di Roma . . . ad me pare che sieno di quelli della capella del sacro palazzo facti dalla felice recordatione di Leone . . . et maxime dua richi et belli quali tengono dua hebrei. . . ."

The dates can hardly be coincidental, so the four mentioned in the first letter are presumably those belonging to "Christians" in the second; thus the letters are a record of probably six tapestries at that time in Naples, and of one (fragmentary) already returned to Rome.

1544. Vatican Inventory. Seven tapestries are by now returned; of these the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, the *Death of Ananias*, and the *Healing of the Lame Man* are certainly identifiable, and of the four remaining, untitled, one is identifiable as the *Blinding of Elymas*, since it is described: "Item un quarto d'un panno di cappella di quelli che fece papa Leone Xmo; che fu rubato al tempo del sacco, tagliato dalli soldati, et rimandato per il supradetto vescovo di regno di Napoli"; this is surely the one mentioned in the first Naples letter of 1532, and it is almost certain that all seven are to be identified with the Naples group. There are records in the inventories of 1544, 1550, and 1555 of several other tapestries being returned from Naples, Ostia, and "abroad."⁶⁹

1550. Vasari: ". . . sono ancora conservati nella cappella Papale."⁷⁰ This is before the Montmorency gift when, certainly, the set still lacked the *Miraculous Draught* and the *Preaching at Athens*; however, it is probable that Vasari is not talking nonsense. By 1550 the wall space was irrevocably reduced by Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, and in this situation and with the omissions from the set, a reasonable hanging of the tapestries was possible with the minimum of disarrangement: on the right wall, the *Charge to Peter*, the *Healing of the Lame Man* and the *Death of Ananias* in their correct places, and on the left wall the *Stoning of Stephen* in place of the *Conversion of Saul* (probably still missing), the *Blinding of Elymas*, the *Sacrifice at Lystra* and the *Paul in Prison* all in their correct places, and nothing beyond the *cancellata*. Vasari has very little to say on the tapestries, and it is probable that he was ignorant of the omissions.

After this date it may be assumed that the set was reconstituted as it stands today by the accession of the

69. Archivio di Stato, Rome, as quoted by Müntz, *Histoire*, II, p. 21; see also Muntz, *Les Tapisseries*, p. 35n.

70. 1st edition of the *Vite*, p. 667 (C. Ricci ed., Rome, 1935, III, p. 114).

71. F. M. Torriggio, *Le sacre grotte vaticane*, Rome, 1639, p. 142; Lanzi, *Storia*, 4th ed., Rome, 1822, II, p. 58; Fuessli, *Allg. Kunsterlexicon*, 1st ed., 1794, II, appendix to part VII, p. 29.

72. A tapestry of the *Coronation of the Virgin* (3.55 x 2.93 m) published by Paliard (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1873, II, p. 82) was later connected by Passavant (*Raphael*, Paris, 1860, II, p. 258) with the Scuola Vecchia and thought to have been hung over Perugino's altarpiece in the Sistine Chapel. It is described as "un arazzo nella cappella di Sixto IV . . ." in the Vatican Catalogue of 1748.

three missing tapestries, probably all in the early 1550's, and except for a brief journey to the Louvre in the French Revolution, they have remained in the Vatican. It became the custom to exhibit them in the Chapel and in the piazza on certain feast days.⁷¹

III. MEASUREMENTS

A. The Altarpiece on the End Wall

Perugino's *Assumption* was destroyed when the altar wall was set back for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*; however a drawing in the Albertina records the composition and proportions (13:17) of the original fresco. The height of the cornice from the floor-level was then ca. 4.7 m; from this must be deducted ca. 1.3 m for the height of the altar *mensa*, leaving ca. 3.4 m for the height of the complete altar. If the fresco were either unframed, or framed in such a way as to leave the total proportion unchanged (i.e. thinner framing at the sides than at the top or below), the width would have been ca. 2.6 m; this represents the minimum width of a number of hypotheses. The maximum is given by supposing that the chapel-cornice provided the framing at the top, that the bottom was contiguous with the *mensa*, and that there were lateral pilasters of ca. 0.6 m width; then the total width would have been ca. 3.8 m.⁷²

B. The Widths of the Stoning of St. Stephen and the Conversion of Saul

From the other examples of the tapestries made by van Aelst from the Raphael cartoons, it is clear that the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and the *Conversion of Saul* of the Vatican set do not reproduce the full extent of the original cartoons (see above pp. 202, 203, and 204). Assuming, however, that the other early sets do represent accurately the original cartoons, it is possible to calculate the necessary additions to the Vatican pair by simple proportions; in the first case the width should be increased ca. 28 cm, and in the second, ca. 27 cm. The particular importance of this is that the discrepancy between the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and its pendant, the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, is reduced.

C. The Vertical Dimensions

The tapestries were originally hung from hooks set into the row of rosettes in the lower cornice, at intervals of ca. 35 cm. The height of these varies very slightly in different parts of the chapel, but an average of ca. 4.7 m is reasonable, above a datum line given by the stone

In fact this piece can have no connection with the chapel, since (1) In inventories of 1592-1620 it is never included among the Raphael set, but placed elsewhere. (2) As pointed out by K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, II, 1956, no. 565, it bears the arms of Paul III. (3) Its first appearance in the Vatican inventories is in 1555, where it is said to have been sent to Paul III by the Cardinal of Liege (d. 1537), thus placing its arrival in the years 1534-1537. (4) The drawing at Oxford, no. 565, illus. *ibid.* pl. CXLII, differs in important respects from the tapestry. Moreover, as pointed out by Müntz, *Les tapisseries de Raphael*, Paris, 1897, p. 34, and *Histoire de la tapisserie*, II, p. 23, the *Coronation of the Virgin* cannot reasonably be connected with the Acts of the Apostles.

benches. If these are original, there is a discrepancy with the heights of the tapestries to be explained: these vary from a maximum of 5 m to a minimum of 4.5 m and most of them exceed 4.7 m. However, it is likely that this additional height is due to the stretching of

The discrepancy in size, even allowing for this correction, between the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* is still about 24 cm, and this requires explanation. The following observations may prove helpful:

D. Comparative Table of Measurements⁷³

The end wall

TAPESTRY	WIDTH	WALL SPACE	WIDTH
Border (<i>Trivium</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	Half-pilaster:	ca. 0.4 m
<i>Stoning of Stephen</i> :	3.98 m	Left bay:	min.: 4.4 m max.: 5.0 m max.: 3.8 m min.: 2.6 m
Altarpiece of the Assumption:		Right bay:	min.: 4.4 m max.: 5.0 m
<i>Miraculous Draught</i> :	4.4 m	Half-pilaster:	ca. 0.4 m
Border (<i>Elements</i>):	ca. 0.7 m		

The right wall

<i>Charge to Peter</i> :	5.6 m	Half-pilaster:	ca. 0.4 m
Border (<i>The Fates</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	First bay:	5.93 m
<i>Healing of Lame Man</i> :	5.66 m	Pilaster:	0.74 m
Border (<i>The Seasons</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	Second bay:	5.91 m
<i>Death of Ananias</i> :	5.63 m	Pilaster:	0.76 m
Border (<i>The Hours</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	Third bay: (<i>Cantoria</i>)	6.15 m

The left wall

<i>Conversion of Saul</i> :	5.57 m	Half-pilaster:	ca. 0.4 m
Border (<i>Quadrivium</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	First bay:	5.91 m
<i>Blinding of Elymas</i> :	5.79 m	Pilaster:	0.74 m
Border (<i>Cardinal Virtues</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	Second bay:	6.06 m
<i>Sacrifice at Lystra</i> :	5.72 m	Pilaster:	0.72 m
Border (<i>Theological Virtues</i>):	ca. 0.7 m	Third bay:	5.96 m
<i>Paul in Prison</i> :	1.30 m	Pilaster:	0.74 m
<i>Preaching at Athens</i> :	4.65 m	Fourth bay, cut by <i>Cancellata</i> :	0.76 m
Border (<i>Hercules</i> , etc.):	ca. 0.7 m	Pilaster:	4.81 m

End wall, tapestries and altar (Av. 3.3 m): 13.2 m
total wall-space: 13.35 m

Right wall, tapestries: 19.0 m
length as far as *cantoria*: 19.9 m

Left wall, tapestries (as far as *cancellata*): 20.5 m
length as far as *cancellata*: 21.3 m

the tapestries beneath their own very considerable weight during centuries of hanging, for in this technique the weight is taken on the woven threads themselves, and not upon the warp-strings, which are horizontal.

The dimensions of the two tapestries of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and the *Conversion of Saul* given here include the corrections mentioned in B. above.

For the off-setting of the last tapestries on each wall, relative to the pilasters, see above p. 202.

(1) It seems from physical evidence that the border between the *Conversion of Saul* and the *Stoning of St. Stephen* was unique in not having been woven to either tapestry.

(2) This suggests a practical peculiarity in the far left corner of the chapel.

(3) There is one essential feature missing from the chapel, and that is a tabernacle for the Holy Oil. In the fifteenth century this is almost invariably to be found on the left wall.

73. The present dimensions of the cartoons, in feet, are given in: J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Raphael Cartoons*, H.M.S.O.,

It may therefore be suggested, as no more than an hypothesis, that the missing tabernacle was in the left corner, on either face, and that on those occasions on which it was used, the hanging border would have interfered and was therefore made removable—without disturbing the major decorative elements. No trace of such a tabernacle in this position would now be visible owing to structural alterations.

IV. THE CONTENT OF THE LOWER BORDERS

Taken in chronological order, the Medicean subjects appear to be:

1. *Entry of the Cardinal into Florence, 1492* (Fig. 13 a). There is further confirmation that this is an entry into Florence, and not, for example, into Rome, in the fact that the river god on the right, associated with the welcoming female figure, and with a wreath on his head, a cornucopia in his hand, and drapery covering the lower part of his body, is seen in reverse, again associated with the female figure, on the left of *The Journey (from Florence) to Rome, 1513*. This deity is quite distinct from the nude river god, accompanied by children, that is associated with the personification of Rome in the latter scene. The classical nature of the buildings in this particular representation of Florence seems to refer to the city's much vaunted antique origins.

2. *Pillage of the Medici Palace, 1494* (Fig. 13 c)

3. *Flight of the Medici* (Fig. 13 c)

4. *Journey to the North, 1499-1500*. This cannot, as is sometimes suggested, be Leo's escape after the Battle of Ravenna. There is no reference either to his armed rescue or to his flight in military disguise. The doffing of the cardinal's hat seems to refer to the laying aside of insignia of rank which was a feature of the journey north.

5. *Battle of Ravenna, 1512*

6. *Soderini's Speech to the Florentines, 1512*. (Fig. 13 d) The figure suggested as an alternative, Ridolfi the Medicean puppet, was a relative nonentity. Despite the defeat of his policies, Soderini spent the remainder of his life in Rome enjoying the full favor of the papal court.

7. *Return of the Medici to Florence, 1512* (Fig. 13 d). The central feature of the Medici insignia in the border beneath the *Death of Ananias* (Fig. 6) is a yoke supported by lions and flanked by herms supporting laurel branches which probably refer to Lorenzo de' Medici. The yoke is Leo's symbol for the impresa *SOAVE*, a reference to the words "Enim iugum meum soave est" (Matt. 11:30).⁷⁴ Leo adopted this impresa after capturing Florence in 1512 and bringing it under his own benevolent yoke. Hence the particular aptness of the presence of Soderini, and not Ridolfi, in this border as representing the old order. The occurrence of the impresa in emphatic form between the scenes referring to Soderini's address and Leo's entry into Florence is, indeed, highly significant.

On the opposite wall, in the central section beneath

the corresponding tapestry of the *Sacrifice at Lystra* (Fig. 10), the lions support the Medicean ring and feathers, with the *palle* beneath them, and two yokes appear in the upper corners of the field. Under the *Healing of the Lame Man* (Fig. 5), the lions face on crossed laurel branches, whilst under the opposing tapestries of the *Charge to St. Peter* (Fig. 4) and the *Conversion of St. Paul*, and in the two tapestries on the altar wall, there are no central Medicean insignia. Assuming that the *Blinding of Elymas* once had a central feature similar to that preserved beneath the *Healing of the Lame Man*, the Medicean symbols would have been symmetrically disposed and varied in the four tapestries within the chancel but below the altar steps. These tapestries would therefore have been distinguished, in yet another important respect, from those in the raised part of the chancel. (See pp. 204-207.)

8. *Journey to Rome, 1513* (Fig. 13 b)

9. *Leo X Receiving Homage, 1513* (Fig. 13 b)

The subjects from the Acts appear to be:

1. *Massacre and Dispersion of the Faithful*, Acts 7:1 and 3 (Below the *Conversion of Saul*, Fig. 8)

2. *St. Paul Preaching in the Synagogue*, Acts 13:14-16 (Below right, the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, Fig. 10)

3. *Splitting up of the Apostles, and St. Paul Choosing Silas*, Acts 15:39-40 (Below left, the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, Fig. 10). This seems to be the only passage that fully explains the grouping of the scene, the prayerful gesture of one figure, and the pair embracing on the right.

4. *St. Paul's Vision of his call to Macedonia*, Acts 16:9 (Below *St. Paul in Prison*, Fig. 11)

5. *Four Scenes from the Life of St. Paul* (Below *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, Fig. 12). This border is not original. Like the lower part of the left-hand border, it was sewn onto the tapestry at the orders of the Constable de Montmorency before its return to Julius III in 1553. Reading from left to right are: *St. Paul as Tentmaker* (Acts 18:1-3); *St. Paul Opposed by the Jews* (Acts 18:5-6); *St. Paul before Gallion* (Acts 18:12-16). These scenes may or may not record the original subject matter, but there is certainly a radical departure from the compositional methods and relief characteristics of the other borders. Similarly, the left-to-right sequence may or may not be correct.

The loss of the border beneath the *Blinding of Elymas* makes it difficult to be certain as to whether or not the Medicean histories and the scenes from the Acts were designed to be as strictly complementary to each other as were the opposed series of main panels above them. There is, however, an obvious parallel between the *Pillage of the Medici Palace* and *Flight of the Medici* and the *Massacre and Dispersion of the Faithful* on the opposite wall. It is also possible that there is some significance in the placing of *Soderini Addressing the Florentines* opposite *St. Paul Preaching in the Synagogue*, although here the similarities of

74. Suggestions for the interpretation of the Medici impresa were made to the editor by Professor Edward Lowinsky.

action are accompanied by a contrast in the content of the message. The yokes of the Medici insignia are, incidentally, appropriately placed next to the scene of preaching, for in Matt. 11:29, in the verse immediately preceding that which is the source of Leo's impresa, are the words: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me." Finally, the *Entry into Florence*, 1512 with the welcoming crowds may or may not be intentionally linked to the free choice and welcoming embrace in the corresponding scene of the *Splitting up of the Apostles, and St. Paul Choosing Silas* upon the opposite wall.

V. THE CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE LATERAL BORDERS

The sets of tapestries in Mantua and Madrid are both complete except for the narrow *St. Paul in Prison*. Apart from minor but significant variations, the main scenes are identical with those of the original series. As neither set was commissioned either for the Pope or for the Sistine Chapel, the lower borders have new subjects and a new format, while every piece is framed on both sides by continuously woven figured borders. As the latter are identical in design and position throughout both sets, only the Mantuan series need be discussed.

The total of eighteen borders involved is made up out of only twelve designs. These include the five original Vatican survivors. As there are six more borders than there are designs, the number is completed by reversing the pattern, but not the lighting, in six cases.⁷⁵ This gives a symmetrically repeated pair of borders to each of the tapestries concerned. In two cases the compositions are among those that survive in the Vatican set. The duplication of some patterns by reversal, but not of others, implies the padding out of a fixed number of designs originally intended for a different purpose. The discrepancy between the twelve designs at Mantua and the nine pilasters in the area covered by the present reconstruction is resolved when an analysis of the subject matter, style, and composition of three of the borders reveals them to be additions to the original series of cartoons by Raphael.

These later additions are the *Deeds of Hercules* (Fig. 16 c) on the right of the Mantuan *Sacrifice at Lystra* and the two borders showing the *Muses* (Figs. 14 c, d) and framing the *Death of Ananias*. The Mantuan borders are otherwise remarkably homogeneous in appearance. There is no distinction between those that have also survived in the Vatican set and those that have not. The Mantuan *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes* (Fig. 15 e) is naturally complete, and the only alteration to a surviving Vatican composition is the addition of the figure of Theology herself to the bottom of the *Theological Virtues*. This is accompanied by a solidification of the architectural framework of the

design. Every figure now stands in a purely architectural niche, and the border loses the more subtly decorative effect that is common to all the surviving Vatican borders. This Mantuan transformation of the *Theological Virtues* is important, for the new design has exactly the same characteristics as four of the additional borders (Fig. 14). The latter represent the *Cardinal Virtues*, the *Four Elements*, the *Trivium*,⁷⁶ and the *Quadrivium*.

The two pathetically weak borders of the *Muses* stand in absolute contrast to this world of firm articulation and rich invention, and cannot possibly reflect designs by Raphael. The *Deeds of Hercules* (Fig. 16 c) on the right of the Mantuan *Sacrifice at Lystra*, on the other hand is unique in that, although each scene is of high quality, the continuous vertical support that links the elements of all the other borders has been completely destroyed. In the Sistine Chapel, moreover, the borders have an articulating, rather than a purely framing function, and "pairing" in the Mantuan sense has no point. This border, therefore, also appears to be an addition, intended, with the lower border, to transform the theme of the heavenly and earthly spheres into a cycle of the deeds of Hercules that would be quite inappropriate in the context of the Sistine Chapel.

The nine original designs, exactly the number involved in the reconstruction (text fig. 1), are in fact (1) *Four Elements*, (2) *Fates*, (3) *Seasons*, (4) *Hours*, (5) *Trivium*, (6) *Quadrivium*, (7) *Cardinal Virtues*, (8) *Theological Virtues*, (9) *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes*. The addition of further, miscellaneous exploits of Hercules, or of six of the Muses, accompanied by Athene and a second representation of Jupiter, to this coherent group would make the cycle, not more, but less complete, less homogeneous.

Unfortunately, as is mentioned in the main text, the *Death of Ananias* (Fig. 6), with the *Theological Virtues* on its right, proves incontrovertibly that Raphael's original plan for the borders went awry in van Aelst's workshop. Apart from the fact that the lighting of this border contradicts that of every other element in the tapestry, it is noticeable that in the corresponding, reversed pair of borders framing the Mantuan *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* the distinctive, praying figure of Hope faces inwards from each side towards the central panel. Moreover, in every case at Mantua involving a gesture of this kind there is a similar connection with the main scene, not a disassociation from it. This finally confirms that in the *Death of Ananias* the way in which this figure turns its back on the main body of the tapestry to move disruptively away from it, and, incidentally, away from the altar, to pray directly to the balustrade of the singing gallery a matter of inches away, is all the result of mere con-

75. It was the fact that a single reversal would have destroyed the unity of lighting in the tapestries involved that led to the maintenance of the direction of the fall of light whilst reversing the figures.

76. Poetry is an addition partly reflecting the ideas of such thinkers as Savonarola who believed that it should replace *Dialectic*.

fusion and not of a wrong placing of the tapestry.⁷⁷

There seems to be no doubt that the *Theological Virtues* were designed to form the left-hand border of a tapestry lit from the right and therefore on the opposite side of the chapel. This tapestry, however, was not the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens* with which it is associated at Mantua. The Sistine Chapel version of this scene already has the continuously woven *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes* upon its left. This arrangement evidently represents Raphael's true intention. The theme, which is unique amongst the border subjects, is well fitted to the partially isolated space beyond the *cancellata*, as are so many other features of this particular tapestry. It is inconceivable, on the other hand, that three of the Seven Virtues should be isolated in this way. Yet that is what would happen if the Mantuan arrangement were transposed into the setting of the Sistine Chapel.

Such a transposition is in itself quite easy to effect, since in cases where the design is duplicated in reverse the original version is revealed by the retention of right-handed gestures. It is, moreover, essential to transpose the designs in this way, since it will eventually be seen that the Mantuan set provides more evidence of Raphael's intentions for the Sistine Chapel than do the tapestries which actually arrived in Rome. The three arrangements considered in the following argument are consequently the transposed Mantuan scheme, the executed scheme, and Raphael's original scheme, which are all shown schematically at the end of the appendix.

If the Mantuan tapestries, with their borders reduced to the original nine designs, are placed in the reconstructed setting in the Sistine Chapel (Scheme A), only two changes are needed to make them fit exactly. The correct version of the *Trivium* must be placed upon the left, instead of on the right, of the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, and the *Hours* must be taken from the left of the *Healing of the Lame Man* and placed on the right of the *Death of Ananias*. This second, rather more drastic, move is required because otherwise the *Hours* would clash with the border of the *Fates*, which is one of the three continuously woven designs surviving in the Vatican set. On the other hand, the *Death*

77. The error is not simply a matter of reversal, as the figure of Faith is shown correctly, holding the Host and chalice in its right hand. The two Mantuan borders, otherwise reversed in relation to each other, are alike in retaining this gesture in right-handed form and in being lit from the right like the tapestry that they frame.

78. The reconstruction of the actual placing of the borders in the Sistine Chapel makes an interesting comparison with the transposed Mantuan scheme. In the first place all the borders are, with two exceptions, on the same side of the chapel in both cases. The most obvious of these exceptions is the *Theological Virtues* which, as has been shown, was originally intended for the left wall, although not for its transposed Mantuan position on the left of the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*. This leaves a gap in the *St. Peter* series on the right of the *Death of Ananias*. The latter was one of the three tapestries which was late in arriving at Rome. It seems probable, therefore, that the muddle in the van Aelst workshop first arose from a mistake in the weaving of the very softly lit border of the *Hours*. Instead of being gently lit from the left,

of *Ananias*, which at Mantua has no original design by Raphael on either border, would remain with nothing on its right.

When it comes to the arrangement that was actually carried out (Scheme B), several points are fixed. The borders with *Hercules and the Celestial and Terrestrial Globes*, the *Theological Virtues*, and the *Fates*, are woven respectively to the left of the *St. Paul Preaching at Athens*, and to the right of the *Death of Ananias* and the *Charge to St. Peter*. The border of the *Seasons* is lit from the left, and so belongs to the *St. Peter* series. Its present position on the left of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* is, however, incorrect. Its measurements and the meander pattern of its lower border reveal that it belonged originally to the left of the *Charge to St. Peter*. Finally, the isolated border of the *Hours* (Fig. 15 c), which is lit from the right and still possesses its left-hand outer edge intact, can, from its measurements, only have fitted on the left of the now mutilated *Blinding of Elymas*.

This leaves only one space, and a single border lit from the left, to complete the filling of the right-hand wall devoted to *St. Peter*. The *Four Elements* must therefore have been placed on the right of the *Healing of the Lame Man*. If the borders of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium* on the opposite wall are left in their transposed Mantuan positions on the left of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* and of the *Conversion of Saul* respectively, this again leaves only one free space and one free border. This gap is on the left of the *Sacrifice at Lystra*, and must necessarily be filled by the *Cardinal Virtues*. The arrangement that results is further confirmed by the fact that, apart from the *Trivium*, each of the borders has been attached to a tapestry which shows signs of having been cut upon the relevant side.⁷⁸

The original plan (Scheme C) which so unfortunately went astray is clearly mirrored in the two derivative systems. It is no surprise that its image cleaves more closely to the transposed Mantuan than to the executed, Sistine Chapel pattern. The main scenes also demonstrate that in several interesting ways the later series is more faithful to Raphael's cartoons than is the earlier, more important set.

The reconstruction of what appear to have been the

as in the later Mantuan set, it was lit from the right and attached to the *Blinding of Elymas*, and not set in its proper place on the right of the *Death of Ananias*. This, in its turn, led to the displacement of the much more boldly contrasted and unambiguously composed *Theological Virtues*. Both the Sistine Chapel and the Mantuan series then fell prey to a number of other less important deviations from Raphael's overall conception. The tapestries were originally surrounded by blue borders, the loss or survival of which, together with the incompleteness or correct closure of the meander patterns of the lower borders indicate whether there has or has not been cutting at the sides of the tapestries. The absence of cutting on the left of the *St. Stephen*, or on either side of the *Conversion* and the *Lystra* tapestries, means that in Scheme B (above), the Vatican set as actually delivered, the *Trivium* hung free, the *Quadrivium* and the *Hours* were attached to the *Elymas*, and the *Cardinal Virtues* to the *Prison* tapestry. Text fig. 1 represents the situation in Scheme C, Raphael's original plan.

artist's own intentions shows that the previously considered restoration of the *Hours* to the right side of the *Death of Ananias* means that, except for the movement of this border along the wall, the distribution of the subjects on the right side of the chapel is exactly as it was in the transposed Mantuan arrangement. The only alteration on the left-hand wall is the exchange of places by the *Hercules and the Celestial and Ter-*

restrial Globes and the *Theological Virtues*. The reasons for thinking that the *Four Elements* and the *Seasons* on the right wall, and the *Cardinal Virtues* on the left, were intended for their transposed Mantuan, rather than their executed Sistine Chapel positions, are based on the relationship between their context and that of the principal scenes, and are considered in the main text.⁷⁹

CONCORDANCE OF THE POSITIONS OF THE LATERAL BORDERS

- A. Transposed Mantuan Scheme
- B. Actual Scheme
- C. Original Scheme (See Fig. 1)

STONING OF ST. STEPHEN

- A. *Trivium**
- B. *Trivium*
- C. *Trivium*

MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT

- A. *Elements*
- B. *Seasons*
- C. *Elements*

CONVERSION OF SAUL

- A. *Quadrivium*
- B. *Quadrivium*
- C. *Quadrivium*

CHARGE TO ST. PETER

- A. *Fates*
- B. *Fates*
- C. *Fates*

BLINDING OF ELYMAS

- A. *Cardinal Virtues*
- B. *Hours*
- C. *Cardinal Virtues*

HEALING OF LAME

- A. *Seasons*
- B. *Elements*
- C. *Seasons*

SACRIFICE AT LYSTRA

- A. *Hercules and Globes*
- B. *Cardinal Virtues*
- C. *Theological Virtues*

DEATH OF ANANIAS

- A. *Hours†*
- B. *Theological Virtues*
- C. *Hours*

ST. PAUL IN PRISON

PREACHING AT ATHENS

- A. *Theological Virtues*
- B. *Hercules and Globes*
- C. *Hercules and Globes*

* The *Trivium* actually hangs on the right of the *Stoning of St. Stephen* in the Mantuan set.

† The *Hours* actually hang on the left of the *Healing of the Lame* in the Mantuan set.

79. See above, pp. 210f.



THE STONE OF UNCTION IN CARAVAGGIO'S PAINTING FOR THE CHIESA NUOVA*

MARY ANN GRAEVE

IN the year 1601, Signor Pietro Vittrice, citizen of Rome and, as former keeper of the wardrobe of Pope Gregory XIII, a man of considerable prominence, was making plans for the redecoration of his chapel in Santa Maria in Vallicella, the Chapel of the Pietà.¹ He had removed from over the altar an old painting of the Pietà and to take its place had ordered a new altarpiece from a young painter of already established reputation, Michelangelo da Caravaggio.² The result of this transaction, completed early in 1603,³ was the famous picture by Caravaggio entitled the *Entombment*, now in the Vatican gallery (Fig. 1).⁴

In view of the circumstances, a scene of the Entombment does not seem the appropriate outcome of Vittrice's commission. Not only was his chapel named the Pietà, but the altarpiece that adorned it prior to Caravaggio's had set a precedent of respect for this dedication. The argument here is that Caravaggio's work does not represent an Entombment. There is reason to believe, instead, that it was conceived in very close connection with its projected setting and that, therefore, its subject matter should be re-examined.

It is true that in the history of Christian art scenes from Christ's Passion frequently overlap each other in regard to certain pictorial motifs. Nevertheless, both in their literary origins and in their artistic form, the Entombment and the Pietà are fundamentally separate themes. For the sake of clarity, their differences can be summarized. The older theme, the Entombment, is based on the laconic and concordant account in the Gospels (Matt. 28:57-60, Mark 15:42-47, Luke 23:50-58, John 19:38-42). Joseph of Arimathea, a wealthy disciple, after receiving permission from Pilate, took Christ's body from the cross, wrapped it in clean linens, hastily as the Sabbath was near, laid it in a new rock-hewn tomb (his own, says Matthew, located in a garden next to the cross, says John) and rolled up a great stone with which he sealed the entrance. John adds that Nicodemus, another disciple, brought a mixture of the spices of aloes and myrrh and that he and Joseph, "took the body of Jesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." None of the four Gospels mentions the Virgin as present at these last rites, only the Magdalen and another Mary. Thus told, and as consequently pictured in art from the ninth century on⁵ the En-

* Dedicated to Walter Friedlaender for his eighty-fifth birthday.

1. The dedication to the Pietà and the name of Pietro Vittrice, of Parmese origin, as the chapel's donor and as wardrobe keeper of Gregory XIII are recorded in an inscription, dated 1594, in the pavement of the aisle in front of the chapel's balustrade (V. Forcella, *L'iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, Rome, 1869-1884, IV, p. 152). A later inscription in the pavement of the chapel itself gives Vittrice's name and death date of 1614 (*ibid.*, p. 156).

2. Documents concerning the date and various details of Vittrice's commission to Caravaggio were first published by L. Lopresti, *L'Arte*, XXV, 1922, p. 116. The same documents, together with an English translation of them, are in Walter Friedlaender's *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, p. 304.

3. Friedlaender (*op.cit.*, p. 188) believes the commission was given the last months of 1601, the painting started in 1602 and finished in 1603. This narrows the limits given by Lopresti (*loc.cit.*) of 1602-1604 and subsequently followed by L. Schudt (*Caravaggio*, Vienna, 1942, p. 47) and R. Hinks (*Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio*, London, 1952, p. 109).

4. Vatican Gallery, No. 386 (300 x 203 cm). In 1797, the painting was taken from Rome to Paris for the Musée Napoléon, and around 1815, after its return from Paris, was acquired by the Vatican (Friedlaender, *loc.cit.*). An exact copy of it by a Tirolese painter has taken its place in the Chapel of the Pietà (E. Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova—Santa Maria in Vallicella*, Rome, 1923, pp. 100f.). The present condition of the work is not good. It is very dirty, and perhaps for its display in Paris it was "retouched." Certain parts, for instance the face of St. John, look hard from an overlay of repaint.

5. The earliest known illustrations of the Entombment are eastern of the ninth century, e.g., the *Homilies of Gregory Nazienzus* (880-886), Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms Gr. 510 (cf. H. Omont, *Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1929, pl. xxi). The tomb in eastern scenes is represented as rockcut, according to the description in the Bible, and usually the two male bearers of the body face the same direction, carrying Christ, head first towards the open tomb entrance, e.g., ms Petropol 21, Moscow, Libr. of Art and Archeol. (cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, fig. 485); Paris, Bibl. Nat. ms Copt. 13 (*ibid.*, fig.

tombment is a busy extroverted event, concentrated on the action of burial, with Christ's body the center of interest.

The Pietà, on the other hand, refers to the compassion of the Virgin as she weeps over her dead Son. Emphasis on the Virgin's sorrow developed as a result of ninth and tenth century apocryphal accounts of Mary as chief mourner in an interlude of lament over Christ's body between the cross and the tomb. The Pietà, a relatively late artistic outgrowth of this tradition, crystallized into a definitive type in the early fourteenth century: a representation of the Madonna, seated alone, with Christ across her lap.⁶ The title Pietà need not be restricted to scenes which show the Virgin isolated, but if other mourners are present as she cradles her Son, they remain a background chorus, subordinate. In sum, the Pietà is a sorrowful brooding subject, often given to subjective piety and symbolism, with the Virgin equal to Christ in importance.

Ever since the seventeenth century, Caravaggio's work in the Vatican has been considered a scene of active burial.⁷ This may, perhaps, be attributed to a tendency on the part of early viewers to fix their eyes on a particular motif in the picture and to let it alone create the prevailing impression. This is the motif of Christ placed horizontally between two male bearers. The body itself, to be sure, follows a typical Entombment formula. It provides a commanding center of interest by its livid color, by being placed in unrestricted view, and by its quality of realistic nudity which both repels and attracts. The pose and physique, modeled after an antique hero's, an Adonis or a Meleager (athletic, little scarred, relaxed as if asleep, head thrown back and one arm hanging limply down), fits a heroic formula for the Dead Christ which had been lifted from antique sources and made popular in Entombment scenes by Caravaggio's Renaissance predecessors, for example Raphael (Fig. 2).⁸

486). This type of composition derives from earlier eastern burial scenes, such as that of Jacob in the Vienna Genesis (W. R. v. Hartel and F. Wickhoff, *Die wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895, pl. XLVIII). From the outset, western scenes of the Entombment, of which the earliest known are from the tenth century, differ from the eastern type (an exception is the ivory bookcover in the Louvre; cf. A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1914-1926, I, fig. 80b). The tomb is a box-like coffer and the bearers face each other as they lower Christ into it, e.g. Codex Egberti (977-993), Treves Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24 (H. Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen*, Leipzig, 1927, fig. 19). E. Panofsky summarizes the differences between eastern and western types by calling the former "horizontal" because of the cross-stage action of moving towards an upright tomb, and the latter "vertical" because of the downward action of lowering Christ into the sarcophagus (*Gothic and late medieval illuminated manuscripts*, syllabus mimeographed for New York University, 1935, p. 53). For a general survey of the Entombment iconography, cf. G. Simon, *Die Ikonographie der Grablegung Christi*, Rostock, i.M., 1926; K. Künstle, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1928, I, pp. 490-494; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'Iconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929, II, pp. 297-299.

6. For discussion of the development of the Virgin mourning over her dead Son in mediaeval art, cf. G. Millet, *op.cit.*, pp. 489-516; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge*, Paris, 1925, pp. 122-140; K. Künstle, *op.cit.*, pp. 480-490; M. Meiss, "Italian Primitives at Konopiště," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1946, 8-10 (includes recent bibliography on the subject).

7. The following excerpts from the principal seventeenth century sources indicate how they interpreted and esteemed the painting: G. Mancini, *Trattato...*, ed. Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, p. 253, "Il Christo deposto nella Chiesa Nuova"; G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642, p. 137, "Nella Chiesa Nuova alla man diretta v'è del suo (Caravag-

gio) nella seconda cappella il Christo morto, che lo vogliono seppellire con alcune figure, a olio lavorato; e questa dicono, sia la migliore opera di lui"; F. Scanelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura*, 1657, p. 198, "Di simile straordinaria eccellenza si ritrova egualmente la Tavola nella Chiesa Nuova, che dimostra quando portano Christo morto a seppellire, e queste sono al sicuro le migliori, che si manifestano al pubblico dell' Autore"; P. Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1672, p. 207, "Ben tra le migliori opere, che uscissero dal pennello di Michele si meritamente in istima la Deposizione di Christo nella Chiesa Nuova de' Padri dell'Oratorio; situate le figure sopra una pietra nell'apertura del sepolcro. Vedesi in mezzo il sacro corpo, lo regge Nicodemo da piedi, abbracciandolo sotto le ginocchia, e nell'abbassarsi le coscie, escono in fuori le gambe. Di la San Giovanni sottopone un braccio alla spalla del Redentore, e resta supina la faccia, e'l petto pallido a morto, pendendo il braccio col lenzuolo; e tutto ignudo e' ritratto con forza della più esatta imitazione. Dietro Nicodemo si veggono alquanto le Marie dolenti, l'una con le braccia sollevate, l'altra col velo a gli occhi, e la terza riguarda il Signore"; F. Titi, *Studio di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1674, pp. 130f., "Il Christo morto che lo vogliono seppellire con molte figure nella Cappella, che segue, fu dipinto da Michel Angelo da Caravaggio, e questa dicono, che sia una delle meglio opere che egli facesse"; Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-Bild-und-Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, ed. A. R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, p. 276. "Mehr ist von seiner Hand in Rom zu sehen alla Chiesa Nuova die Grablegung Christi, wovon ich eine gute Copia zeigen kan."

8. B. Berenson (*Caravaggio, His Incongruity and His Fame*, London, 1953, p. 29) also notes the likeness of Caravaggio's Christ to Raphael's and says that Caravaggio was directly inspired by this source. I do not think one can pin down the prototype of this figure quite so precisely, since it follows such a general type in Italian art.

However, the classical scheme used for the Entombment by Raphael and others involves a principle of action. The bearers of the body are either lowering their charge into a sarcophagus or carrying it towards the tomb as the fated Meleager is borne by companions in reliefs on Roman sarcophagi (Fig. 5).⁹ The scheme is one of balance between support and directed movement. The torso bearer assumes the most weight, while his assistant, holding the legs, is responsible for guiding the body to its destination, which he invariably faces.

The bearers in Caravaggio's work, Saint John on our left, Nicodemus on our right, although they appear at first glance to fit the classical transportation scheme, in reality do not. They do not move towards the open tomb entrance at the left (seen most clearly in an eighteenth century engraved copy of the painting, Fig. 4), but turn away from it. Instead of straining against each other at opposite ends of the body, they are aligned behind Christ, both on his left side. The Evangelist is entirely immobile. His left hand rests on top of Christ's chest (surely his hand, not Christ's) and his left shoulder is correspondingly slumped. The weight of the torso is deposited against his right knee which is thrust forward for this reason, his right foot emerging from beneath his cloak. Nicodemus, meanwhile, is engaged in lowering Christ's hips and legs on to the large flat stone upon which the scene as a whole is staged. Were Nicodemus' action to be completed, Christ would lie half propped up against John's knee and half reclining on the stone. The pose would follow the pattern of Pietàs by Correggio, Tintoretto, and the Carracci.¹⁰ Hence, if Caravaggio's figures are not immobilized, as normally figures are in Pietàs of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, still less do they appear to be involved in carrying Christ's body to the tomb.

Once it is realized that the bearers do not follow the motivations of an Entombment, it is easier to detect other subjective elements. The Virgin, somber and mantled, is very much the key to a mood of requiem. The spectator can best appreciate this if at first he slightly readjusts his point of view. The six figures, massed solidly together on top of the stone, are turned away from the spectator at a five to ten degree angle, facing the diagonalized edge of their base. Their sculptural three-dimensionality makes it easy to imagine oneself walking a step or two to confront them straight-on. From this standpoint it is evident that the composition would assume the familiar pyramidal shape of a traditional type of Pietà, the Virgin, as always, forming the central axis, her head marking the apex. Although Christ does not actually lie across her lap, the triangular contour established by her outstretched arms and his supine body immediately conjures up this image. Furthermore, when considered frontally, the specific relationship of mother and son strikingly resembles the Pietà by Michelangelo in Saint Peter's, or, reversing the procedure, Michelangelo's Pietà, photographed from a three-quarter view, recalls Caravaggio's two figures.¹¹

A familiar Pietà scheme is, therefore, present in the composition. However, while this would account for the static structure and pensive mood of the picture, the curious oblique and unorthodox handling of this scheme raises a problem. The fact that the Virgin does not emerge manifestly on a par with Christ has undoubtedly led to the misunderstanding of the subject matter. The interpretation of the scene as an active burial began, as mentioned, with Caravaggio's seventeenth century critics. They, their eyes quick to seize upon the classical pose of Christ, probably molded their impression of the work after a preconceived idea based on such exemplary Entombments as Raphael's. Perhaps for this reason, too, they were uncharacteristically complimentary about the painting, for this, of all Caravaggio's efforts, was almost the only one to receive unanimous and

9. For numerous examples of such Meleager sarcophagi, cf. K. Robert, *Die antiken-Sarcophag-Reliefs*, Berlin, 1804, III, 2, pls. XCIV-XCVIII. Another type, where Meleager is placed on a couch and surrounded by mourners throwing up their hands and beating their breasts (*ibid.*, pls. LXXXIX-XCIII), was also drawn upon for the Entombment by Renaissance artists, e.g., Donatello, *Entombment*, San Antonio, Padua (cf. H. W.

Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, pl. 315).

10. Cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 282-288, figs. 165-169.

11. For a three-quarter view of Michelangelo's Pietà, cf. *Michelangelo's sculptures*, ed. Phaidon Press, New York, 1939, fig. 23.

full approval from his early biographers. Baglione, Bellori, Scanelli—all agreed that this may easily be Caravaggio's *capolavoro*.¹² For once, we imagine them to have reasoned, he did not vulgarize his subject by imitating nature directly, but heeded recommended models of the past, Antiquity and Raphael.

But the bias of their favor and, alas, their basic misunderstanding of this work, too, is evident from slight discrepancies between certain of their descriptions and the painting itself. Bellori, for instance, speaks of the figures as if they were already in the open doorway of the tomb ("situare le figure sopra una pietra nell'apertura del sepolcro"),¹³ whereas they stand several yards distant from it. The inaccuracy may seem trifling, but on the other hand, it can also signify Bellori's too quick anticipation of the burial, leading him to see the figures in closer relationship to the tomb than they actually are—a slip of the eye which has a logic of its own, betraying, in fact, Bellori's conventional understanding of the scene. Also, Baglione's description is not entirely apt. Although he forbears from directly calling the scene a burial, implying that he sensed, at least, the possibility of another meaning, he refers to it as "Il Christo morto, che lo vogliono seppellire con alcune figure,"¹⁴ a phrase which indicates that he supposed burial to be the primary concern of the figures.

Painters as well as critics have promoted the idea of Caravaggio's "Entombment." The painting's popularity is further attested to by the continuous copying of it, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.¹⁵ While Caravaggio's early fables of card players, fortune tellers and musicians created one vogue, and his later chiaroscuro style, another, the *Entombment* was in a class by itself. It was a study piece, among other touchstones, for aspiring young artists. Yet almost none of the copies made of it is "faithful"; each adds a twist, a prop, that converts the scene into an active burial. Typical of this tendency is perhaps the earliest copy, Rubens', which is today in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa (Fig. 3). It is presumably based on a sketch made between 1607 and 1609¹⁶ when Rubens, working but a few yards away from the Chapel of the Pietà, painted his youthful masterpiece for the high altar of Santa Maria in Vallicella. The freedom of this adaptation hardly qualifies it as documentary evidence concerning specific details of the original.¹⁷ The most important interpolation is an earth-dug grave, one corner of which is visible beneath the stone slab which, in turn, becomes the lid of the grave. Other parts have been readjusted to coincide with this change. The tomb entrance is changed into a shallow arched niche behind the figures. John steps down from the stone, lending his support as he and Nicodemus lower the body into the grave (his left hand consequently removed from Christ's chest). The Virgin, too, is significantly different. She does not stand, stalwart, in the center of the mourners, but melts more into the group. Her arms are not outspread to form a triangular embrace, but are clasped to her bosom.¹⁸ Such changes, occurring at vital points, transform the composition. It is resolved into a straightforward Entombment. Everything which could distract from this objective has been eliminated, including the upflung arms of Caravaggio's woman on the right which, in Rubens' version, would have checked the downward sweep, the entombing decisiveness. Yet, it is worth

12. Cf. note 7 above.

13. Bellori, *loc.cit.*

14. Baglione, *loc.cit.*

15. Besides the copy which replaced the original in Santa Maria in Vallicella and besides that mentioned by Sandrart (*loc.cit.*) and Rubens' copy, the Entombments by the following are also based on Caravaggio's work: Elsheimer, drawing, Darmstadt 27 (v.Bode, *Adam Elsheimer*, Munich, 1922, fig. 14); Jordaens, drawing, Rijksprentenkabinet (A. v. Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Marburg, 1933, fig. 38b); Theodore van Baburen, altarpiece, S. Pietro in Montorio (*ibid.*, fig. 18a); Fragonard, sketch, engraved by Saint-Non (Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, fig. 104); Guattani, engraving, 18th century (Fig. 4); Cézanne, watercolor (E. d'Ors, *Paul Cézanne*, Paris, 1930, fig. on p. 12). Of all these, only that in the

Chapel of the Pietà and the engraving by Guattani are literal copies.

16. Formerly in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna; R. Oldenbourg, *Rubens (Klassiker der Kunst*, v), Stuttgart, 1921, p. 457. Schneider, *op.cit.*, p. 96, attributes this *Entombment* to Rubens' workshop, but this, so far as I know, is the only opinion that dissents from accepting the work as Rubens' own.

17. G. Argan, *Paralelo*, II, 1945, pp. 44ff., proposed that the woman with upraised arms in the Vatican was added in the middle of the seventeenth century, basing his argument on the fact that this figure is absent from Rubens' version and saying that she is too "Baroque" for Caravaggio. The theory was refuted by R. Longhi, *Proporzioni*, I, 1943, pp. 100f.

18. Berenson, *op.cit.*, p. 26, observes still other differences.

noting, the Ottawa copy is not an altogether superficial likeness. Rubens simply was not interested in Caravaggio's meaning *per se*. Instead, he exploited the extraordinary illusionism of Caravaggio's projecting form, that almost cinematographic taking-over of the spectator by the pictorial dimension, an effect which he tried to carry even further by precipitating action at the bottom edge of his picture.

In the seventeenth century, then, Caravaggio's work was somewhat freely interpreted. Bellori saw it with academic eyes, Rubens with a growing sense of Baroque impetus, and beyond such personal predilections, everyone was apparently wont to read into it the action of burial. Authors writing on Caravaggio since have at times exhibited discomfort with the Entombment point of view. They have not done so in terms of questioning the subject matter, but indirectly, by revealing uncertainty over what is happening in the picture. Confusion shows itself, for instance, where no distinction has been made between the original composition and Rubens' version, as is the case in descriptions which say of Caravaggio's work that St. John and Nicodemus are standing on a lid while lowering Christ into a grave.¹⁹ Such has been said even though the area beneath Caravaggio's stone is not so obscured by dirt that one cannot see that the ground there is flat (a plant growing out of it to indicate that we are in the garden mentioned in the Gospel of John), even though St. John is visibly inactive and even though the actual tomb, with its open entrance, is there to be seen, located at the left. Misjudgment of this kind seems merely symptomatic of the misfocusing that has long been leveled at the work as a result of seventeenth century prejudice.

The painting needs to be seen afresh, without the intervention of superimposed conventions. A new approach is offered by a feature of the iconography, the large flat stone on which the figures stand. Mistaken for a lid, this prominent, most forward projecting, part of the picture has evidently been a snag in the viewer's comprehension. A survey of scenes of Christ's death reveals that the introduction of a flat stone whereon Christ's body is placed is by no means an innovation of Caravaggio's. An example remarkably close in iconography to Caravaggio's is the so-called "Pietà" by Roger van der Weyden in the Uffizi (Fig. 6).²⁰ Here the disciples are also gathered outside the tomb entrance, supporting their dead Savior on top of a large flat stone, likewise set at a conspicuous angle. Indeed, this painting is important for Caravaggio's, establishing a link between it and a certain tradition of northern mediaeval art. But, for the moment, we will confine our discussion to just the stone. It represents a much venerated relic of Christendom, the Stone of Unction, which is today enshrined in the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem²¹ and which plays a part in the iconographical background to Caravaggio's work that I must briefly review.

The anointment of Christ's body is an aspect of the Passion based on the Evangelist John's account that Nicodemus brought a mixture of aloes and myrrh, spices which he and Joseph of Arimathea used on the body when they wound it in linen clothes.²² The stone of unction, mentioned

19. G. Rouchés, *Le Caravage*, Paris, 1920, p. 76, "Au bord du tombeau Joseph d'Arimathie et Saint John soutiennent le corps du Christ." L. Schudt, *op.cit.*, p. 22, "Sie (Joseph und John) stehen auf der Grabplatte und schicken sich an, den Körper in das Grab zu legen, das sich vorne auftut." Berenson, *loc.cit.*, simply says, "Where all this (Caravaggio's scene) is taking place is more than I can guess."

20. Since this paper makes such an issue of the definition of a Pietà, I am anxious to point out that Roger's picture does not fit into this subject category. Therefore, to avoid confusion, I am adopting for the caption of this picture the name coined for it by Panofsky, "The Last Farewell" (*Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 274).

The picture is Uffizi no. 1114 (1.10 x 0.96 mm.). It has been identified as "el sepolcro del nostro Signore sconfitto di crocie e cinque altri figure," listed anonymously in the 1492 inventory of Lorenzo the Magnificent as being in the Medici villa at Careggi (*ibid.*, p. 273). Roger, to whom the painting is unanimously attributed, would have painted it for Cosimo

de' Medici while stopping in Florence during the Jubilee year of 1450 (*loc.cit.*). It seems likely that Vasari (*Le vite*. . . . ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878-85, VII, p. 580) meant this painting in speaking of a Passion scene by a pupil of Roger's in the collection of the Duke: "Di Costui (Ruggieri vander Weyde) fu discepolo Hausse (Hans Memling), del quale abbiān, come si disse, in Fiorenza in un quadretto piccolo, che è in man del duca, la Passione di Christo." In 1666, the painting passed from the collection of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici to the Uffizi under the name of Dürer (*The Uffizi Gallery: Catalogue of Paintings*, Florence, 1927, p. 151).

21. The stone of unction was one of the Christian monuments photographed in Jerusalem for *Life* magazine, December 22, 1955, p. 166.

22. Embalming was rare in ancient Judea. It was the custom to wash the body and to anoint it with aromatic unguents, flavored with spices, so as to avoid odor, and then to wrap it in clean linen clothes ("Burial," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, N.Y., 1902, pp. 435f.).

from probably at least the tenth century on,²³ was where the sacred corpse was placed for these preparations. The earliest detailed accounts of it are found in two Greek sources. The later of the two, the history of Nicolas Choniate of the reign of the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnene I (ruled, 1143-1180), written during the first two decades of the thirteenth century,²⁴ tells how the stone came to Constantinople. In 1169,²⁵ it was brought there from the Byzantine coastal town in Asia Minor, Ephesus, where, evidently, it had been in a church.²⁶ Nicolas Choniate relates that the Emperor Manuel himself received the stone into Constantinople, "carrying it on his back from the Port of Bucoleon to the tower in his palace," and that after Manuel's death it was placed beside his tomb in the church of the Pantocrator.²⁷ The other Greek author, John Cinnamus,²⁸ gives details of the stone's early history. He describes how, after the Crucifixion, the mother of the Savior, "took Him and, according to the custom, placed Him on His back on this stone; and leaning over Him, she wept heavily. While she was crying, tears fell upon the stone and have remained indelible upon it to this very day, something very worthy of admiration." He goes on to relate that Mary Magdalene, on her way to Tiberius in Rome to accuse Pilate and the Jews of being unjust murderers, left the stone in Ephesus,²⁹ which would mean that it had been there since the first century A.D. However, this information does not tally with the evidence that until A.D. 1010 it was in a small church dedicated to the Virgin in Jerusalem.³⁰

The account of John Cinnamus pictures the stone as being a feature of the Virgin's mourning. The tears which are cited as having indelibly stained its surface are commended as a hallowed distinction. Indeed, by the phrase, "according to the custom," which echoes St. John's report of the aloes and myrrh, Cinnamus seems almost to suggest that it was the Madonna who administered the unguents. His narration recalls the tenth century description of the Virgin's lament given by Simeon Metaphrastes,³¹ one of the earliest theologians to expand on Mary's role in the death of Christ. In any case, out of this literary conception of the stone, a popular legend grew. For pilgrims of later generations, the indelible tears, apparently in the form of white streaks in the marble grain, remained a mark of great sanctity upon this relic.³²

It is also known as the "red stone" (*lapis purpureus*³³) because it is cut from red marble. Perhaps the name was also conferred for the symbolic reason that it had received on its surface drops of Christ's blood. Hence, the red marble, with streaks of white running through it, would have commemorated the commingling of tears and sacred blood.

23. I believe an early allusion to the stone of unction is found in Symeon Metaphrastes' "S. Maria planctus" (ca. A.D. 965), ed. J-P. Migne, *Patr. gr.*, Paris, 1864, 114, cols. 210f. The second paragraph of this dramatized monologue of the weeping Virgin opens so: "Vae mihi miserae! in lapide demortuus jaces, qui ex lapidibus filios suscitas Abraham." The image of the dead Christ stretched on a slab as the Virgin weeps over him re-occurs, as we shall see, in later descriptions of the unction stone, so that the reference here may have set a precedent for the later tradition ("lapis" could perhaps also be translated as simply grave here, since "lapidibus" seems to be used in this sense in the second half of the sentence).

24. Nicolas Choniate (also called Nicetas), "De Manuele Comneno," Lib. vii, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 139, cols. 571f. Nicolas died around 1220. For the dates of his history of the Byzantine emperors, cf. B. Kugler, *Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzug*, Stuttgart, 1866, pp. 38f.

25. The date of the stone's arrival in Constantinople is given in F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnene (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnene (1143-1180)*, Paris, 1912, p. 204 n. 2.

26. J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires du Byzance*, Paris, 1921, p. 130.

27. The tower where Nicolas Choniate (*loc.cit.*) says the stone was first placed was probably the celebrated sanctuary of Passion relics in the Palace of Bucoleon, an annex to the Grand

Palace of Constantinople (Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 131).

28. John Cinnamus, "Historiam," Lib. vi, Migne, *Patr. gr.*, 133, cols. 645f. Cinnamus was court chronicler during the reign of Manuel Comnene, but probably did not write his history until after Manuel's death in 1180 (Kugler, *op.cit.*, p. 36).

29. *Loc.cit.*

30. C. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, pp. 149, 161, 164ff.

31. Symeon Metaphrastes, *loc.cit.*

32. Robert Clari *The Conquest of Constantinople* [chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, 1202-1204], trans. from Old French by E. Holmes McNeal, N.Y., 1936, p. 112) writes: "In this abbey (the Pantocrator) there was a marble slab on which Our Lord was laid when he was taken down from the Cross, and there still could be seen there the tears which Our Lady let fall upon it." For the same observation by other pilgrims visiting in Constantinople up to 1453, cf. Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 131 n. 2. By 1483, the stone was back in Jerusalem. Breydenbach writes that during his visit to the Holy Land of that year, he saw a place marked by a stone where the Mater Dolorosa sat with the dead body of her Son at her bosom, cf. G. Jeffrey, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre*, Cambridge, 1919, p. 105 n. 2.

33. Nicolas Choniate, *loc.cit.*

In mediaeval art, the Stone of Unction is treated in three principal ways, the Byzantine, the Italian, and the North European, and all three ultimately have a bearing on Caravaggio's work. In Byzantine art, it was incorporated into the icon of Christ's death, the Epitaphios: a handsome example is the twelfth or thirteenth century Epitaphios in the treasury of Saint Mark's in Venice (Fig. 7).³⁴ Christ lies on top of the flat oblong stone, face upwards, almost nude in readiness for unction, hands over lap; two angels, one at either side, hold candles. The arrangement presents us with an iconography that is typical of all Epitaphioi. Others may have more figures—the Virgin, St. John, the Apostles, seraphim and cherubim—or they may be less stiff, slightly more expressive, in style,³⁵ but basically they maintain the same form as in the example in Saint Mark's. Christ is always in the same pose, always the dominant figure, abstractly set apart in the middle of the horizontal rectangular stone.

What is most significant about these icons for our discussion is that they symbolize the sacrament over the altar, the Eucharist: the transubstantiation of Christ's flesh and blood into consecrated bread and wine.³⁶ Such symbolism is implicit in the liturgical use of these images, for mostly they are embroidered into ritualistic cloths like the covering of the ceremonial bier of Christ for Good Friday or the chalice veil for the altar.³⁷ The meaning is also specified in inscriptions which sometimes underline the image, such as, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him,"³⁸ quoted from one of the basic sources for the institution of the Eucharist, John 6:56.³⁹ The stone of unction in Epitaphioi must take part in this symbolism. As the tablet over which the sacred flesh and blood are presented, it would represent the Christian altar.

Very different from the Byzantine abstract symbolic context is the treatment of the stone in Italian mediaeval Biblical illustration where it is depicted according to John Cinnamus' description and the popular legend extolled by pilgrims, as part of the Virgin's lamentation. So, for instance, is it represented in one of the apron panels of the thirteenth century Cross 20 in the Museo Civico in Pisa (Fig. 8).⁴⁰ The motif pictured here of Joseph of Arimathea anointing the wound in Christ's side with his right index finger is a conventional motif for all scenes which show the unction taking place. Nicodemus supports the feet, while the Virgin holds the top portion of Christ's body across her lap and embraces him around the shoulders. St. John and three other Marys look sorrowfully on. The whole group, it will be noted, is situated on top of the stone of unction. Placed under the Virgin, the stone is in a position to catch her falling tears, thus to logically illustrate the legend told by John Cinnamus. Probably it has no symbolic value when presented like this, but is meant as simply a feature of the story.⁴¹

The same manner of representation continues into later Italian art. Christ on top of the unction slab, his aggrieved mother close by, is found rather frequently in Italian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially from Venice and its vicinity.⁴² And, now and again, as in Cross 20,

34. E. Panofsky ("Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 267 n. 5) gives the date of the 12th/13th century to the Saint Mark's Epitaphios, saying that it is one of the earliest examples of its kind. The earliest date known to me that has been given to an Epitaphios is the 10th or 11th century, ascribed to the enamel from the Stroganoff Collection, Rome (cf. G. G. King, "Iconographical Notes on the Passion," *ART BULLETIN*, XVI, 1934, p. 301, fig. 5). In this example, Christ lies on an oblong shape that is brightly patterned like fabric, probably because Epitaphioi are usually embroidered or woven in liturgical cloths. However, so far as I am aware, no textile examples have survived from a date as early as the enamel, probably because they were too fragile. Therefore, it is impossible to judge whether the stone of unction was ever included among those of an earlier period or whether it appeared first in the 12th century, around the time of the Saint Mark's image.

35. For instance, the Epitaphioi of Chilandari (King,

op.cit., fig. 7) and of Putna (Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," fig. 4).

36. G. Millet, *op.cit.*, p. 499.

37. O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, p. 357.

38. For reference to this inscription and to others of the same connotation, cf. Millet, *op.cit.*, p. 499 n. 4.

39. J. Pohle, "Eucharist," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, N.Y., 1909, p. 573.

40. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, pp. 674ff.

41. For other examples of the same iconography in mediaeval painting, cf. Millet, *op.cit.*, figs. 540, 553-555; Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, figs. 478 and 479.

42. See the following works: Tintoretto, *Pietà*, Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore (L. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, 4, Milan, 1925, fig. 440); G. B. Cima, *Pietà*, Modena Gallery (Venturi, VII, 4, fig. 156); Pordenone, *Pietà*, Cortemaggiore, Chiesa dei Francescani (Venturi, IX, 3, fig. 489); Moretto of Brescia, *Pietà*, N.Y., Metropolitan Museum, no.

the Virgin is shown also on top of the stone, holding Christ in her lap: in the unfinished painting by Federigo Barocci in the Accademia at Bologna (Fig. 9)⁴³ and in the *Pietà* by Tiarini in the Pinacoteca at Bologna (Fig. 10).⁴⁴

Caravaggio's work falls directly in with this Italian tradition. It commemorates the Virgin's mourning, the *Pietà*, through the relic of her falling tears, and it is not exceptional in its representation of the scene on top of the stone. Christ's body, although not actually held by the Virgin, crosses her lap, thus she is put into the pivotal position which defines her as chief mourner. Direct reference to the unction itself is seen in the motif of St. John touching the wound in Christ's side with his right index finger. Standard for scenes of the anointment, the motif here is a further sign which helps to identify the stone.⁴⁵

Besides its appearance in Byzantine Epitaphioi and in Italian narrative illustration, the stone of unction is treated in northern mediaeval art in a third, and more complicated, way. To the extent that Caravaggio's work is touched by this tradition, it is also more complicated than the usual Italian rendering described above. The anointment of Christ's body is a familiar subject in Franco-Flemish art from the middle of the twelfth century on. Only, instead of the unction taking place over the stone, it occurs over a sarcophagus. Possibly the earliest example of this formula is to be seen on a jamb capital at the left of the right door of the Royal Portal of Chartres, dated around 1155.⁴⁶ Christ lies on top of a boxlike sepulcher; two male disciples confront each other across the body, a third opens the winding sheet, a fourth administers the ointments to the wound in Christ's side (the hand that held the unguent phial has broken off). No women are present, indicating that here the unction bears no relation to the Virgin's mourning. Later examples do include female figures, but the basic scheme was not conceived in this connection. The unction of Christ over a sarcophagus becomes a stereotyped image in Gothic art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, repeated over and over, as one can see from Koechlin's reproductions of Gothic Passion ivories.⁴⁷

Since the northern unction scheme seems to have originated around the time of the Second Crusade, 1147-1149,⁴⁸ it could have been the result of Latin Christian contact, at this time, with the Eastern relic. If so, however, the question arises of why in northern art the stone itself is not represented, or why it is replaced by a sarcophagus.⁴⁹ The reason for this alteration, I would suggest,

1261; Simone Peterezano, Milan, San Fidele (Venturi, IX, 7, fig. 215); Cavaliere d'Arpino, *Deposition*, Sacristy ceiling of the Certosa of San Martino, Naples (Anderson photo no. 25319); Rubens, *Pietà*, Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery (not the same as the copy after Caravaggio; Oldenbourg, *op.cit.*, p. 76).

43. Ordered around 1600 for the Cathedral of Bologna, but never finished (H. Olsen, *Federigo Barocci*, Stockholm, 1955, p. 170).

44. Formerly in the church of Collegio Montalto in Bologna, dated ca. 1617 (E. Mauceri, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Bologna*, 1935, p. 110).

45. The same use of the motif, divorced from the actual anointing, is seen in Lotto's *Deposition*, Milan, Brera (Venturi, IX, 4, fig. 13).

46. Cf. M. Aubert, *La sculpture française au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1946, fig. on p. 180. For dates of the Royal Portal, cf. S. Whitney Stoddard, *The West Portals of Saint Denis and Chartres*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, pp. 22ff.

47. It appears altogether eighteen times, R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, 3, *passim*.

48. A Romanesque example of the unction of Christ is seen on an ivory comb in the Museum of Verdun (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, fig. 176a, p. 49). Goldschmidt places this ivory in the 12th, rather than the 11th, century as it was previously dated, but whether he means before 1150 is not clear. It could be a version of the Gothic unction formula rendered in retardataire Romanesque style after 1150. To my knowledge no earlier Romanesque scenes of the unction exist; the closest to this formula in Romanesque art are scenes of

Christ placed on top of a couch, or sarcophagus, while above, two angels swing incense containers, e.g., a cloister capital in San Pedro, Estella (Navarre) (cf. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of The Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, VI, fig. 810).

49. Millet, *op.cit.*, pp. 502, 520f., suggests that Western artists mistook the stone for a sarcophagus when they saw it represented in Eastern art in explanation to why the sarcophagus was chosen to represent Christ's sepulcher. The whole question of why the sarcophagus was the preferred type of sepulcher for Christ in Western art has been raised by other scholars. E. Mâle (*L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1928, 3rd ed., pp. 127f.) refutes Millet's theory, contending that the depiction of Christ's tomb as a sarcophagus derived from the use of coffin-shaped receptacles for the Host in Western liturgy. A simpler explanation (G. Simon, *op.cit.*, p. 35) is that the sarcophagus, being the customary grave in Europe, would naturally have represented Christ's grave as well. Convincing is the theory of Neil Brooks, "The sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Urbana, 1921, VII, p. 24, who demonstrates a gradual evolution from the domical type Holy Sepulcher of ninth and tenth century illustrations to the sarcophagus as an independent form. I add the observation that while in the Romanesque period, Christ's tomb is represented in various ways—as a domed edifice, as a couch, as a sarcophagus—after 1150 it is almost exclusively represented in the latter form. I would account for this by the symbolism which I propose became attached to this form after 1150 (cf. text).

was to transfer to the sarcophagus the altar meaning which the stone of unction has in Epitaphioi. In other words, the Crusaders, commanded by Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France, may have seen the stone not only in reality at Ephesus, where they were permitted to camp by Manuel Commene, but also in pictorial form in the Byzantine icon; it is even possible that Louis VII and his entourage, during their much feted stay at Constantinople, were made gifts of some of the precious and portable textiles upon which Epitaphioi were embroidered.⁵⁰ The sarcophagus, the same size and shape as the stone, by undertaking its unction role, may have acquired its icon symbolism. In this case, the sarcophagus in Gothic scenes of Christ's death would artistically symbolize a concept which had existed in Christian liturgy since the eighth century, the identification of Christ's sepulcher with the altar.⁵¹ A certain resemblance of the Gothic formula to the Byzantine icon bears out this argument: Christ, the central figure, always lies on top of the sarcophagus, a fact which markedly distinguishes this type from earlier Northern Entombments (e.g. Ottonian) where he is lowered into the receptacle and which differentiates it from contemporary Italian versions of the same scheme;⁵² frequently, too, his pose is stiff and his hands lie on his lap, all of which is definitely reminiscent of his position on the stone in Epitaphioi. Certain sculptured Holy Sepulchers of the fourteenth century are particularly close to the Byzantine icon, for example, that in the Cathedral of Freiburg (Fig. 11):⁵³ the stiff pose, the hands on lap, of the sacred effigy, the angels at either side who hold candles, the fact that the standing figures are smaller in size than Christ, indicating the body's preeminence—these points reflect characteristics that are typical of the Eastern image.⁵⁴ The likeness is more than formal. The liturgical use of the Freiburg Sepulcher, as container of the host, makes it symbolically analogous, as well, to the icon. It is, furthermore, true that in works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both northern and Italian, it is not uncommon to find Christ's sarcophagus dressed as an altar: for instance, in Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà* in the Doge's Palace at Venice⁵⁵ and in Carlo Crivelli's *Pietà* in the Brera at Milan.⁵⁶ Perhaps, then, the altar meaning given to these late mediaeval and Renaissance sarcophagi stems from a time when, in the middle of the twelfth century, this type of sepulcher was made to represent the role of the red stone.

These symbolical implications aside, it is in any case the characteristic of the northern mediaeval scheme that the stone of unction is incorporated into Christ's tomb. Two fifteenth century outgrowths of this tradition, which are pertinent to Caravaggio's painting, are van Eyck's *Three Marys at the Tomb*, now in Vierhouten,⁵⁷ and the already mentioned painting by Roger van der

50. Odo of Deuil presents us with a possible link between Western and Eastern types. He was chronicler of Louis VII during the Second Crusade and in his journal (*De profectione Ludovici VII Orientem*, trans. V. Gingerick Berry, N.Y., 1948, p. 67), describes how Manuel himself conducted Louis VII on a tour of Constantinople's shrines. It would have been logical for Manuel to have displayed at this time images of the Epitaphios. Back in France, Odo became abbot of Saint-Denis after the death of Suger in 1152 (*ibid.*, p. xv). Since it is at Chartres, at this time closely connected with Saint-Denis (Whitney Stoddard, *op.cit.*), that an early, if not the earliest, instance of the Gothic type occurs, one can hypothetically tie this in with Odo's having transmitted the idea of Eastern icon to this area.

51. K. Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford, 1933, I, pp. 214ff. An attempt to prove a relationship between the altar and pictorial versions of Christ's sepulcher has been made by J. K. Bonnell, "The Easter Sepulchrum in its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar," *Publications of Modern Language Association*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 664ff., on the basis of the ciborium, the canopy sometimes placed over a mediaeval sarcophagus which, he claims, derived from the altar canopy. Brooks, *op.cit.*, p. 24, refutes the theory on grounds that the ciborium is too exclusively an Italian feature to lend altar significance to mediaeval sepulchers in general.

52. Two mediaeval versions of the contemporary Gothic

formula are seen on the two late 12th century Crosses of, respectively, San Michele and the Museo Civico, in Lucca (Sandberg-Vavalà, *op.cit.*, p. 300, figs. 258, 259). But they differ basically from the Northern type in that Christ lies inside a ciborium sarcophagus, indicating that at this time the concept of identifying the grave with the Byzantine icon would not have penetrated yet into Italian art.

53. W. Pinder, *Die deutsche Plastik des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1925, p. 27.

54. See Epitaphios from Chilandari (G. G. King, *op. cit.*, fig. 7).

55. Venturi, VII, 4, fig. 156.

56. Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-1938, XVIII, fig. 40. In this case, the sarcophagus is red marble, surely an allusion to the red stone, so that here all three, sarcophagus, altar, and stone, are clearly embodied in one. Thus by the second half of the fifteenth century the concept of identifying the representation of Christ on top of a sarcophagus with the Epitaphios had reached Italy, probably as a result of northern influence. Other examples which show this identification are Mantegna's *Dead Christ*, Milan Brera, (Knapp, *Mantegna [Klassiker der Kunst, XVI]*, Stuttgart, fig. 120); Basaiti's *Dead Christ*, Venice Accademia, (Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," fig. 6); Paris Bordone's *Dead Christ*, Venice, Palazzo Ducale, (*ibid.*, fig. 7).

57. Formerly in the Cook Collection at Richmond; since

Weyden in the Uffizi, the so-called *Pietà* (Fig. 6). In van Eyck's picture, the three women are confronted by the angel who, as so often in scenes of this subject, sits on the sarcophagus lid, the askew angle of which reveals the tomb to be empty. The deep red color of the lid, Panofsky has pointed out, alludes to the red stone of Constantinople.⁵⁸ This, then, is a variation on the older northern concept. The stone of unction is now incorporated into a very specific part of the tomb, its door, the "rolled stone," which, the Gospels relate, sealed its entrance and then was miraculously removed to make way for the Resurrection. When the tomb is a sarcophagus, the "rolled stone" naturally takes the form of a lid.⁵⁹ Following up our interpretation of earlier northern unction scenes, it would not be inconsistent with Eyckian "disguised symbolism" if this extension of the red stone theme from Christ's death to his Resurrection should involve a play on the idea of the altar sacrament, the Eucharist, as a means to Redemption.⁶⁰

Very possibly on the basis of van Eyck's red-and-rolled stone iconography, Roger evolved his variation of the northern unction scheme. The immediate source of the Uffizi picture is a "formula developed by Fra Angelico,"⁶¹ exemplified in Fra Angelico's predella panel in the Pinacothek of Munich (Fig. 12).⁶² In this panel, Christ stands cross-like, his winding sheet spread out on the ground before him in a rectangular pattern. He is supported from the back by Joseph of Arimathea and is flanked by the Virgin and St. John. This symmetrical group is placed right in front of the open rectangular doorway of the tomb, an arrangement which has led Panofsky to christen the scheme the "Last Farewell."⁶³ Perhaps the simple pious expression of this work appealed to Roger's sense of the mystical or perhaps Cosimo de' Medici, patron of both paintings,⁶⁴ asked Roger to make a likeness of the San Marco predella panel for his chapel in the Villa Careggi. At any rate, Roger followed Fra Angelico closely, similarly representing the disciples as they soberly and humbly adore their Savior outside the open tomb entrance. The tomb, instead of the usual northern sarcophagus, is the Italian rock-cut type.

Into this Fra Angelico setting, Roger interjected features of his own.⁶⁵ Among other things, he added the stone of unction, the rectangular slab in the foreground, upon which Christ and St. John stand, recognizable from its attribute, the unguent jar, beside it. Although it is placed in front of an Italianate tomb, it is not treated in the Italian manner. The Virgin does not weep over it; she stands quietly to the side, a figure of less importance than Christ. Furthermore, the stone here is presented, like van Eyck's lid, in the guise of the tomb's door, the "rolled stone." This is evident from the fact that its dimensions equal those of the door's frame,⁶⁶ a fact that is readily comprehensible to the observer because of the proximity and the obvious size and shape relationship of the two. Hence, Roger introduced into his Italian setting the northern concept of having the stone of unction incorporated into Christ's tomb. Underlying this concept, I again suggest, is liturgical symbolism inherited from the northern formula of the past. The rectangular slab in Roger's picture, in its double capacity of the red-and-rolled stone, appears to fulfill, like the unction sarcophagus before it, a tomb-altar symbol. Accordingly Christ, on top, is the dominant image, his pose sug-

⁵⁸ 1940 in the collection of Mr. D. G. Beuningen at Vierhouten (Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 230, pl. 153). For recent summary of Hubert/Jan attributions, cf. M. W. Brockwell, *The Van Eyck Problem*, London, 1954, *passim*.

⁵⁹ E. Panofsky, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, 437 n. 8.

⁶⁰ The rolled stone in the form of a sarcophagus lid, set at a sharp angle, goes back to early Romanesque scenes of the Three Marys (e.g., Brooks, *op.cit.*, fig. 29).

⁶¹ Such meaning would fit with Panofsky's interpretation that other parts of the picture are symbolic of Christ's rebirth (*Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 231).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁶² The painting was originally the center predella panel of Fra Angelico's high altarpiece for San Marco in Florence, cf. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, London, 1952, pp. 13, 15, 174f.

⁶³ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 274.

⁶⁴ For the commissioning of Roger's cf. *loc.cit.*, of Fra Angelico's cf. Pope-Hennessy, *op.cit.*, p. 12.

⁶⁵ Panofsky, *loc.cit.*, discusses differences between figures and landscapes in the two pictures.

⁶⁶ In the small photograph that I have, the door frame measures 1 3/8 inches wide; the bottom edge of the stone, when continued to complete the corner cut off by the frame, equals 1 1/2 inches. The discrepancy between the two is small enough to be chalked up to Roger's empirical foreshortening.

gesting a crucifix. Roger would thus have imparted to the "Last Farewell," in itself a worship of Christ's body, the meaning of the sacrament over the altar.

Roger's work had, in its turn, an influence on Florentine art, producing a Florentine compositional type which manifests its derivation from the Uffizi picture rather than from Fra Angelico's through the pose of Christ and through the use of two figures to support Him.⁶⁷ Perhaps the subject was especially favored by the Dominican circle of Florence: Fra Angelico was its originator and Roger's work, its second progenitor, was in the collection of the Dominican order's greatest patron, the Medici family. At least one of the by-products of Roger's composition repeats the iconography of the stone in front of the open rectangular entrance, the painting by Bartolommeo di Giovanni in the Accademia of Florence.⁶⁸ However, on the whole this specific form appears to be very rare. Mostly in Italian art, the stone is treated separately from the tomb in the manner already described.⁶⁹ It is, therefore, extremely curious to find this rare form adopted in Caravaggio's work where, once again, the disciples are gathered around their Savior in front of the open tomb entrance. The unction slab on which they stand can, like Roger's, also be identified as the rolled stone by its similar shape and size and by its proximity to the empty doorway. The sharp angle at which it is placed is reminiscent, as is the angle of Roger's too, of the rolled stone in scenes of the Three Marys.⁷⁰

Caravaggio's painting is, therefore, iconographically a combination of the Italian tradition of the Madonna's lament over the stone of unction and Roger's adaptation of Fra Angelico's scheme. One might say that the Vatican work contains two coexistent themes: for while it represents a Pietà, it is above all, in the vein of a "Last Farewell," a worship of Christ's body which explains why his figure is the dominant image of the painting. As for the Chapel of the Pietà, this dual emphasis, this superimposing of another theme on that of a Pietà, not only does not conflict with the dedication, but is almost only to be explained by this circumstance.

The devotion to the Pietà was not the personal choice of Signor Pietro Vittrice. It belonged in a comprehensive program that embraced the entire interior of Santa Maria in Vallicella. The Pietà formed so intricate a part of this program that if Caravaggio had ignored this subject he would have disrupted the whole scheme.

On July 11, 1575, Pope Gregory XIII issued a bull confirming the newly formed society, the Oratory, and granting to it the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella with which to begin its official life.⁷¹ Founded by St. Filippo Neri, perhaps the most popular Counter-Reformer of his time, the Oratory was set up on democratic principles, as a lay apostolate, with laymen as well as clerics participating in its administration.⁷² The program, around which the interior of the Vallicella was planned, was established in the interest of the society's liberal policies.

Two months after the bull of Gregory XIII, there began the rebuilding of Santa Maria in Vallicella which was thenceforth known as the Chiesa Nuova.⁷³ Envisaged in the reconstruction was the plan of dedicating all the altars to the mysteries of the Virgin. Starting in the left transept, continuing around the five chapels on either side of the nave and ending in the right transept, the altars are dedicated respectively to the Presentation at the Temple, the Annunciation, the Visitation,

67. Panofsky, *loc.cit.*

68. Accademia, Florence, No. 8628; attributed by Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 6, under his special name for the artist of Alunno di Domenico (cf. *Burlington Magazine*, I, 1903, pp. 6-22).

69. When the red stone is identified with the tomb in Italian art, it is in the form of a sarcophagus (cf. above n. 56). But when the stone is shown near a rockcut sepulcher, the entrance of the tomb is usually rough-hewn, and thus bears no resemblance to the shape of the stone as it does in Roger's and Bartolommeo di Giovanni's pictures. (cf. paintings by Pordenone, Moretto, Cima, Tiarini, d'Arpino, cited

above, n. 42).

70. As observed by Friedlaender (*op.cit.*, p. 128), the sharp angle could also refer to the cornerstone, symbol of Christ as the foundation of the Church.

71. The bull is conserved in the Archivio dei Filippini in Rome (*S. Filippo Neri, mostra bibliografica*, Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1950, p. 19).

72. L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. R. F. Kerr, St. Louis, XIX, 1930, p. 181.

73. L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times*, trans. R. F. Kerr, London, 1937, p. 342.

the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Circumcision, the Crucifixion, the *Pietà*, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the Assumption, and the Coronation.⁷⁴ In general, this selection follows the devotions of the Rosary, the Mary and Jesus psalter, which consists of fifteen mysteries divided into three main sections: the five of Incarnation (Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Circumcision, Christ among the Doctors), the five of Passion (Agony in the Garden, Flagellation, Crowning of Thorns, Carrying of the Cross, Crucifixion) and the five of Glory (Resurrection, Ascension, Descent of the Holy Ghost, Assumption, Coronation).⁷⁵ Although in the Chiesa Nuova only twelve mysteries are represented and although one or two in the first and last sections are at variance with the Rosary, the general choice of subjects as well as the division of chapels into five on either side of the nave, indicates an effort, at least, to make the layout correspond to the prayer's form.⁷⁶ The fact that the Passion section was the one most radically changed and reduced—condensed to only the two mysteries, the Crucifixion and *Pietà*—seems a matter of direct bearing, as I will later suggest, on Caravaggio's work.

Bacci, an early biographer of Filippo Neri, writes that the Saint himself proposed the program for the Chiesa Nuova and that he wished the altarpieces to be used for contemplation.⁷⁷ That the idea was Filippo's own fits in with his background and his affiliations with the Rosary. The prayer itself first became widespread during the last quarter of the fifteenth century as a result of the lay confraternities founded in its name by the Dominican order.⁷⁸ The Dominicans were especially active in its propagation because, according to the legend, St. Dominic was the first to preach it; the Virgin appeared before him in the year 1208 and taught him to use it as a means of counteracting the Albigensian heresy.⁷⁹ It is regarded as primarily a prayer of the people, a popular or mass form of worship.⁸⁰ Anyone can practice it, for the observer is assisted by beads with which to count off his devotions to the mysteries by reciting ten Ave Marias and one Pater Noster for each. Meditation on the fifteen Mysteries can be divided among various individuals, thus can it become a daily accomplishment, with everyone mutually sharing in its spiritual benefits. The Rosary proved such an effective method of group worship that, in the sixteenth century, no less than five popes, beginning with Leo X, endorsed its legality and decreed indulgences in its behalf.⁸¹

Filippo Neri, born in Florence in 1515 and brought up under the aegis of San Marco's Dominicans,⁸² was an avid promoter of the Rosary.⁸³ In his late years, he declared that he was indebted to the Dominicans for the whole of his spiritual training.⁸⁴ His own confraternity, the Oratory, with its system of sermons followed by group discussions, common prayers and hymns, was clearly founded with the Rosary principle of communal worship in mind. It is not surprising, therefore, that the devotions of the Chiesa Nuova should so closely follow those of this prayer. The program

74. For artists and dates of altarpieces, cf. E. Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova—Santa Maria in Vallicella*, Rome, 1923, pp. 89ff.

75. The definitive series of Rosary mysteries existed by the middle of the sixteenth century, although at this time there were still other variations (F. M. William, *The Rosary: Its History and Meaning*, trans. E. Kaiser, N.Y., 1953, pp. 77f.). The division into the mysteries of Incarnation, Passion and Glory is attributed to Father Alain de la Roche who founded the first Dominican Rosary confraternity at Douai in 1470 (*ibid.*, p. 56). Lotto's *Madonna of the Rosary* for San Domenico in Cigoli, painted ca. 1539 (Venturi, IX, 4, figs. 82-89), already exhibits the definitive Mystery series in the fifteen medallions surrounding the Virgin's throne.

76. I attribute the lack of a full schedule of fifteen Mysteries to space shortage. The site of the Vallicella was cramped, and finding space enough for both church and living quarters was a constant problem (Ponnell & Bordet, *op.cit.*, p. 339). The rebuilding of the church went through two stages, both efforts at enlargement: the first plan, 1575-1584, drawn up by Mat-

teo di Castello and based on the Gesù, contained ten altars as opposed to eight in the original church (*ibid.*, pp. 339f.); the second plan, 1586-1594, laid out by Martino Lunghi, the Elder, included two more chapels (*ibid.*, p. 410). It was Filippo Neri who insisted on expanding the plan to the furthest possible degree (*ibid.*, p. 340). The Rosary program inside the church would have had to be adjusted to these limits.

77. Pier Giacomo Bacci, *Vita di S. Filippo Neri*, ed. Ferante, Rome, 1855, p. 62 (1st ed., Rome, 1745).

78. H. Thurston, "Rosary," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 190.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 184ff.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

81. P. Devas, "The Rosary Tradition Defined and Defended," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XLI, 1916, p. 130.

82. Ponnell and Bordet, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

83. Willam, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

84. Pastor, *op.cit.*, XIX, p. 162.



1. Caravaggio, *Entombment*. Rome, Vatican



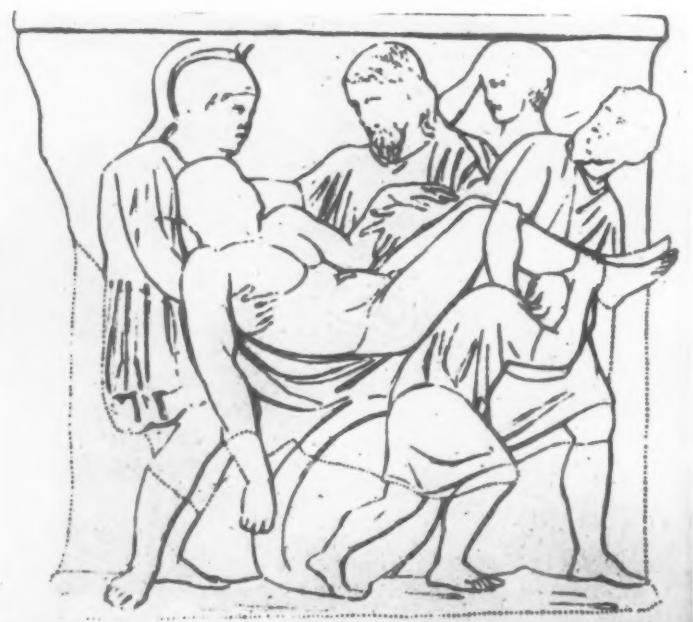
2. Raphael, *Entombment*. Rome, Borghese Gallery



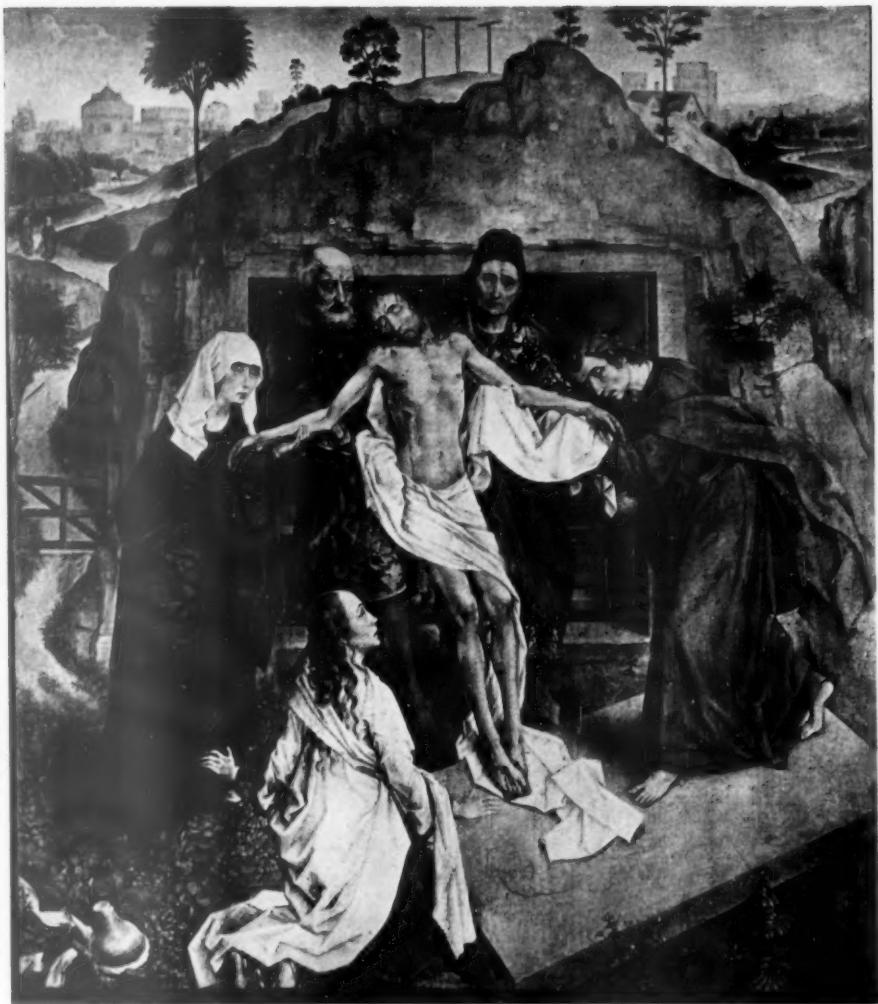
3. Rubens, *Entombment*. Ottawa, National Gallery



4. Guattani, *Entombment*
(Engraving after Caravaggio)



5. Meleager Sarcophagus. Rome, Capitoline Museum

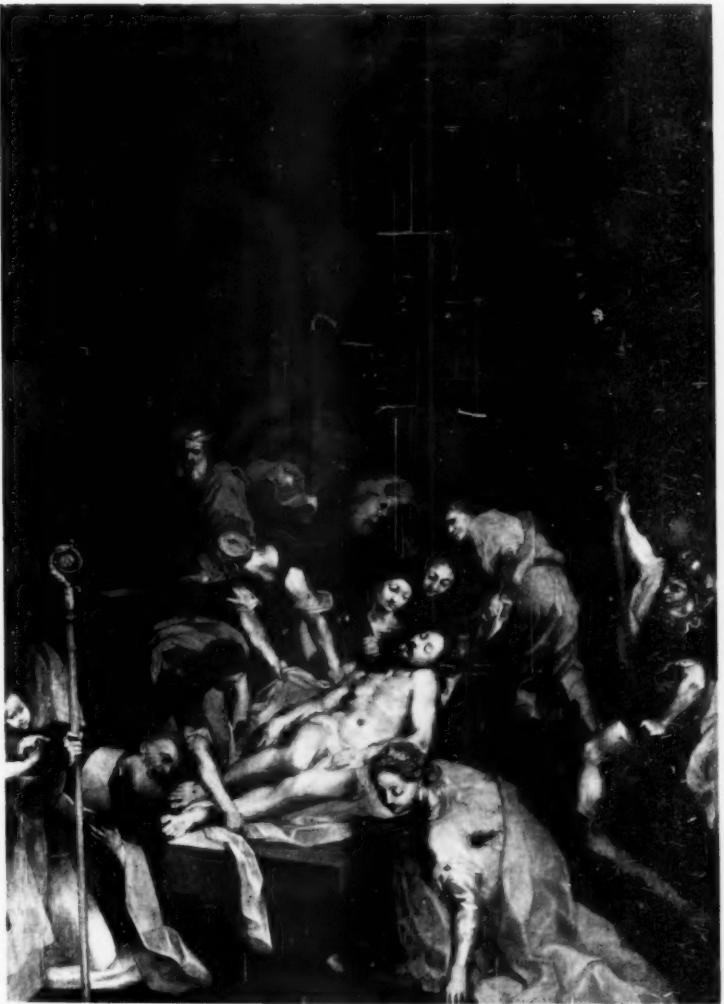


7. Epitaphios. Venice, Treasury of Saint Mark's

6. Roger van der Weyden, *Last Farewell*
Florence, Uffizi



8. Pietà (detail). Pisa, Museo Civico, Cross 20



9. Federigo Barocci, Pietà. Bologna, Accademia



10. Allesandro Tiarini, *Pietà*. Bologna, Pinacoteca



11. Holy Sepulcher. Freiburg, Cathedral



12. Fra Angelico, *Last Farewell*. Munich, Pinacothek



13. Illustration for Meditation on the Death of Christ
in Alberto Castellano's *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine
Maria*, 1564

of altars would have been both an acknowledgment of Dominican inspiration and a sign of the democratic ideals for which the Oratory stood.

For us, the Rosary program of the Chiesa Nuova is most significant because the altarpieces were used for spiritual contemplation. The aim, again, was one of community interest, of public benefit, to give aid in the practice of spiritual exercises to those who would ordinarily be incapable of performing this difficult task.⁸⁵ At least, such is the idea expressed in a small treatise on the Rosary which belonged to Filippo Neri's personal library, *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, written in 1521 by a Dominican, Alberto Castellano.⁸⁶ Castellano states that one of the chief reasons for his treatise was to the present illustrations (crude black and white cuts), so that, he says, addressing his readers, "Possete vedere quello che havete a contemplare. E questo no(n) solamente a gli literati: ma etia alli illiterati e ignorati e idioti suffragara a dovere degnamente co(n)templare ta(n)ti misterii e essercitarsi nelli santi essercitii."⁸⁷ Concern for the spiritual welfare of the masses was a recurrent issue throughout the Counter-Reformation and one which Filippo Neri in particular took seriously. Certainly there can be no doubt but that the altarpieces of the Chiesa Nuova, as regarded by Filippo and his colleagues, were intended to carry out on a large scale the same didactic and humane function as Castellano's illustrations.

Although in itself the use of paintings for devotional meditation, for "picture prayer," is nothing new—merely another link connecting the Oratory with earlier Dominican practices,⁸⁸ it does place Caravaggio's work in a new light. So exactly and conscientiously, in both iconography and style, does it appear to fulfill its function of a poorman's guide to spiritual contemplation that it offers strong evidence of that facet of sympathy in Caravaggio, which Friedlaender brings to the fore as an important clue to the character of his work,⁸⁹ for the earthy, practical, human, yet deeply spiritual, religious approach of Filippo Neri and his followers.

A first indication of the painting's closeness to the spiritual motivations of its surroundings is its likeness to the awkwardly drawn illustration for the meditation on Christ's death in the treatise by Alberto Castellano (Fig. 13).⁹⁰ Not surprisingly, the print represents a "Last Farewell," another sign of Dominican reverence for this theme invented by Fra Angelico. But it is much closer in composition to Caravaggio's than the Florentine ones previously cited. The same figures (Caravaggio has only substituted St. John for Joseph of Arimathea) are also compactly grouped together near the bottom frame. They do not stand on the stone of unction, but Joseph appears to rest his feet on something, possibly a piece of the winding sheet in the manner of Fra Angelico. The open entrance of the tomb before which they stand is rectangular in shape and, like Caravaggio's, is at our left rather than in the center as in Florentine compositions. Christ is held horizontally between two male disciples (head and foot in reverse from Caravaggio's), as if here, too, the figures had just arrived at the tomb after the procession from the cross. Further similarity lies in the way the body is uninterruptedly, almost frontally, exposed to view, as always in this subject, but in this case an arrangement obviously determined by the thought of how best to show the body for contemplation; in the way the Virgin, placed behind Christ, stands in the center of

85. Possibly through his contact with the Chiesa Nuova, Caravaggio became acquainted with the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola (cf. Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, p. 123). Filippo Neri, a devout practitioner of the *Exercises*, may have wished the devotions of his church to accomplish the same realistic, concrete, perception of the divine that St. Ignatius' disciplines were meant to achieve. However, as St. Ignatius himself realized, his instructions were too difficult for more than a few to carry out (see, for instance, paragraph 18, *The Spiritual Exercises*, ed. Puhl, Westminster, Md., 1950, p. 7). One must be able to read to acquaint oneself with the subject of meditation and be capable of the intense concentration involved in applying the senses to conjuring up a mental image of the divine. It would have been characteristic of the Oratory's

liberal policies to teach St. Ignatius' methods to a wider public through the visual aid of altarpieces.

86. Castellano's treatise, published in Venice, 1567, is listed in the index (Vall. O. 23) of books belonging to Filippo Neri's personal library. It is considered one of the sources for the definitive Rosary form (Willam, *op.cit.*, pp. 63ff.).

87. Castellano, *op.cit.*, p. 7v.

88. "Picture prayer," as contrasted to oral or mental prayer, was recommended, for instance, by the Dominican Alain de la Roche at the end of the fifteenth century (Willam, *op.cit.*, p. 63).

89. Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, pp. 123-130.

90. Castellano, *op.cit.*, fig. opp. p. 145r.

the mourners, her covered head bowed; and finally in how the female with upraised arms is situated at our right.

If only in outline, this print is close enough to the Vatican picture to be considered its main source. One can imagine that Signor Vittrice, desiring his altarpiece to carry out the wishes of the Oratory's founder, to whom he was indebted for his life,⁹¹ referred Caravaggio to the Rosary treatise by Castellano in Filippo's library; that Caravaggio, impressed with Castellano's, *ergo* Filippo's, aim of aiding simple people in their devotions, respected the illustration as an authoritative example of the type of composition to be used for meditating on Christ's death; that, therefore, he drew up his own work on this basis. He added the stone of unction, paralleling Roger's interpolation of it into Fra Angelico's scheme. He projected his sturdy figures forward into space, magnified his textures, made his light powerful, with the effect that one is sensitized into a hyper-awareness of the painted object. The composition thereby acquired a psychic magnetism which must, indeed, have been successful in persuading even the dullest of minds that the divine was palpably real.

A second sign of how completely Caravaggio's work is the product of its pious setting is the favored position of the Chapel of the *Pietà* in the Chiesa Nuova. Evidence from the documents shows that this particular chapel held a place of distinction in the interior scheme. Its altar was "privileged," which means that Mass could be celebrated from it and that it was conceded special indulgences.⁹² Holy Communion was probably given there also, for one can receive the sacrament wherever Mass is performed. Interestingly enough, these privileges coincide with the unique position of the chapel in the Rosary program, for in the context of this program, the *Pietà* appears to be a *mysterium extra-ordinarium*, and the two circumstances together lend the dedication an extra mystical connotation. As the eighth Mystery in the church, the *Pietà* is one of two devoted to the Passion (the Crucifixion directly precedes it). Since the other altars adhere closely to the Rosary Mysteries of Incarnation and Glory, the reduction of the Passion section to only two marks an irregularity in the scheme. The *Pietà* is especially unusual because it does not belong at all in a normal Rosary sequence.⁹³ It is conceivable that it was meant to represent a synthesis or a consummation of the Passion to make up for the four Mysteries which, with the Crucifixion, usually comprise this section. In representing such a consummation, the *Pietà* here may have referred not only, as generally, to the Virgin's compassion, but to the mystical correspondence between this compassion and Christ's Passion; referred, in other words, to the concept of Mary's having participated in the work of Redemption.⁹⁴ Certainly, that such a doubling of the Virgin's divinity with Christ's in Salvation could have been the meaning which underlay the title of *Pietà* fits with the privileges of Mass and special indulgences which were accorded to the chapel's altar.

These theological and liturgical implications are echoed in Caravaggio's work. Like its chapel, the painting has a special character. It does not represent a specific episode as do the other altarpieces of the Chiesa Nuova. It is not simple and direct, but transcends the particular by an iconography combining, as we have demonstrated, the two themes of the *Pietà* and the "Last Farewell." *Ave, verum Corpus, natum de Maria Vergine*, a line chanted in celebration of the Holy Sacrament,⁹⁵ seems to me an apt description of the painting's theme. The Madonna, second most important figure and placed in a *Pietà* relation to her son, is his acolyte in fulfilling the mystery of Redemption. Her appearance bears out her priestlike role. She is not pathetic and swooning like most *Pietà*

91. Ponnelle and Bordet, *op.cit.*, p. 292.

92. Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, p. 304.

93. For the Rosary Mysteries of the Passion, cf. p. 234.

94. The doctrine of the parallel between the Virgin's compassion and Christ's Passion and its relation to art is discussed in E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1925, pp. 122-140; Otto G. von Simson, "Compassio and Co-

Redemptio in Roger van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, pp. 9-16. Liturgically, Mary's cooperation with Christ in Redemption is celebrated in prayers and chants which draw a parallel between the Incarnation and the Reincarnation (cf. M. Vlobberg, *L'Eucharistie dans l'art*, Paris, 1946, II, pp. 269f.).

95. Quoted by M. Vlobberg, *loc.cit.*

Madonnas of the time, she is solemn, almost impersonal. Her outstretched arms suggest benediction or protection in a manner recalling figures of the Madonna Misericordia whose widespread arms shelter her devotees.⁹⁶

As for the stone of unction, this feature would cap the mystical meaning proposed for the *Pietà* here. It is, on the one hand, the relic of the Virgin's compassion. On the other hand, because Caravaggio incorporated it into the tomb, it follows the pictorial tradition which celebrates Christ's body. As in other images belonging to this second tradition, it suggests an altar. The sacramental symbolism which is demonstrated in Epitaphioi and which, as suggested above, becomes transferred to the northern unction sarcophagus and thence to van Eyck's and Roger's red-and-rolled stones, would now have descended into Caravaggio's stone of unction. As an altar, it would relate Christ's body to the Eucharist and at the same time unite the Virgin with this mystery of Redemption, and it would, furthermore, remind the observer of his own ritualistic partaking of the sacrament at Holy Communion. In sum, the stone would tie directly in with the liturgical privileges decreed the Chapel of the *Pietà* and with its place in the whole mystical devotional program of the Chiesa Nuova. The stone is thus the key symbol of Caravaggio's work, the seal of its highly devotional character, a sign that, while kneeling before this altarpiece, the observer was very likely expected to say double his usual quota of Rosary Aves and Pater Nosters.

The question remains of how Caravaggio could have known Roger's red-and-rolled stone iconography. I can only propose that he knew it through the Oratory's relations with the Dominicans in Florence,⁹⁷ that somehow through this channel he was instructed to add this iconography to the composition that he otherwise drew mainly from our other Dominican source, Castellano's print. If one wonders how the simple church-goer, in whose interest the picture was created, could have understood the symbolism, this is answerable insofar as the work was used for spiritual contemplation, for members of the Oratory, acting as spiritual guides, must have explained the altarpieces of their church to the public.

Panofsky uses the word "*Andachtsbild*" to define a type of devotional picture.⁹⁸ It is a type made up of two iconographical spheres, of symbolic imagery derived from church icons and of naturalistic elements taken from narrative illustrations. The result is at once formal and informal, abstract and emotionally appealing. The same definition fits Caravaggio's work. Vivid, tangible, moving, yet severe and hieratical in moral, it is an "*Andachtsbild*" of the Counter-Reformation, specifically of the Counter-Reform of Filippo Neri and his colleagues. Its devotional aspect, so intrinsically connected with its setting, became obfuscated probably with the changes wrought inside the Chiesa Nuova during the first half of the seventeenth century. The atmosphere of pious purity was superseded by a spirit of secularization. The simple white wash of walls and ceiling which Filippo Neri had prescribed,⁹⁹ was supplanted by a profusion of stucco and fresco. Living personalities were introduced into a scheme where formerly individual interests had been devoutly put aside in favor of a communal worship of the Virgin and Christ. Had Filippo Neri, whose humility was rigorously exercised, seen himself depicted in ecstasy in the altarpiece by Guido Reni or, still more, seen himself portrayed by Pietro da Cortona in the miraculous scene extending the length of the nave vault, he would have been profoundly shocked. But the religious character of the seventeenth century was

96. See examples reproduced by H. Ghéon, *Marie mère de Dieu*, Paris, 1939, pls. 109, 111.

97. A plausible source for such contact would have been Alessandro de' Medici, in 1605 elected Pope Leo XI. Firstly, he was kin to the main Medici of Florence, in whose Villa Careggi Roger's picture was, and in 1569, Cosimo de' Medici made him Florentine ambassador to Rome (Pastor, *op.cit.*, xxv, pp. 19f.); secondly, he was close to San Marco's Dominicans and almost entered their order (*ibid.*, pp. 18f.); thirdly, he was a great friend and admirer of Filippo Neri and was chosen to lay the foundation stone of the Chiesa

Nuova (*ibid.*, p. 19); fourthly, he was a well-known patron of art (*ibid.*, p. 22). These facts point to his having known and understood Roger's work and to his having been in a position to recommend its iconography to Filippo Neri and his circle. It would be neat if the Chapel of the *Pietà* should prove to be located over the foundation stone of the Chiesa Nuova: then everything would tie nicely together, the chapel's specialness, the cornerstone symbolism, Alessandro de' Medici and the use of Roger's iconography.

98. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," p. 264.

99. Ponnelle and Bordet, *op.cit.*, p. 413.

different from that of its parent age. Now what was demanded were flamboyant visions of the divine delivered from a distant and tumultuous heaven to a few select mortals. The divine was no longer so much attainable through conscientious application as it was inspired. With these changes, the utilitarian devotional program of the Chiesa Nuova very likely became obsolete and consequently the sober fulfillment of this function by Caravaggio would have lost significance. Seventeenth century critics judged the Vatican work by purely aesthetic standards, divorced from meaning. In this vein it fared remarkably well, generally honored as a work of exceptional distinction by the artist. It is thus an added note of irony in Caravaggio's career that this, most favored of his paintings, should have been, at least according to the present interpretation, for the most part misunderstood.

QUEENS COLLEGE

THE AMERICAN BUNGALOW

CLAY LANCASTER

BUNGLOW is a term that was frequently used to designate the small American home from about 1880 to the 1930's. The popularity of the word was due to its euphony and vagueness of meaning, which made application elastic. In general it may be said to have gradually supplanted the word cottage, eventually taking over many of its duties in our common vocabulary for a period upwards of half a century. During this time the American house underwent certain changes, changes inherent in the bungalow idea, that brought about the transition to what we know today as the modern house.

The word bungalow is of Eastern derivation, coming from the Bengali, *bānglā*, signifying a low house with galleries or porches all around, and identical with the Hindi or Hindustani adjective, *banglā*, "belonging to Bengal." Its association with a building type apparently originated among the English in India, native-type shelters being referred to as "Bungales or Hovells" in an India Office diary as early as 1676.¹ About 1825 Mary Martha Sherwood, in *The Lady of the Manor*, describes Indian bungalows (using current spelling) as modest structures "built of unbaked bricks and covered with thatch, having in the centre a hall . . . the whole being encompassed by an open verandah."² For half a century longer the bungalow continued to be considered a primitive dwelling, at best fit for civilized people only as temporary shelters, or caravanserais, when they were journeying in backward foreign lands.

Writers in American magazines early in this century were aware of the Indian origin of the bungalow. Thus, an article in *American Architect and Building News* in 1908 characterizes the "dāk-bungalow" as "a house for travelers, such as are constructed by the Indian Government at intervals of twelve to fifteen miles on the highroads in many parts of India."³ The description given coincides with Mrs. Sherwood's. Other authors speak of the bungalow as a "transplantation from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of Saranac Lake,"⁴ or as migrating from "India to California."⁵

To the British in South Asia the bungalow was no dream house, being "about as handsome as a stack of hay," and giving "the 'irreducible minimum' of accommodation."⁶ These remarks came from the pen of J. Lockwood Kipling—father of the poet and raconteur of jungle tales—who illustrated his piece with several sketches and diagrams of authentic examples. Even where the planning was compact all the rooms opened onto galleries and were provided with windows and outside doors for cross-ventilation; in addition there was often a clerestory under the main eaves (Fig. 1). The bungalow was, as Kipling remarked, "a purely utilitarian contrivance developed under hard and limiting conditions."

The earliest American house called a "bungalow" that I have discovered is one at Monument Beach designed by the Boston architect, William Gibbons Preston, and published in *American Architect and Building News* in 1880 (Fig. 2).⁷ This house, clapboarded and having a generous verandah, belongs to what has so aptly been termed by Vincent Scully the "stick style," by this time a mode well past its prime.⁸ The plan, insofar as it contains a projecting central living room

1. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Oxford, 1888, I, p. 1178; *House Beautiful*, XXXVI, 8, July, 1914, p. 55.

2. Mrs. Sherwood, *The Lady of the Manor*, Bridgeport, 1828, v, p. 50. The first English edition, in seven volumes, was issued at Wellington between 1825-1829.

3. XCIV, 1704, 19 August, 1908, p. 63.

4. *Craftsman*, v, 3, December, 1903, p. 253.

5. *House & Garden*, XII, 2, August, 1907, p. 45.

6. "The Origin of the Bungalow," *Country Life in America*, XIX, 8, February, 1911, p. 309.

7. VII, 222, 27 March, 1880.

8. Vincent J. Scully, Jr., "Romantic Rationalism and the Expression of Structure in Wood: Downing, Wheeler, Gardner, and the 'Stick Style,' 1840-1876," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, p. 141.

opening onto a gallery and a rear recessed porch, bears some affinity to that of Kipling's Eastern bungalow. Although the arrangement is essentially axial, the massing is quite irregular. The house is two-and-a-half stories in height, but horizontality is emphasized. The design is well adjusted to its setting, which seems to have been taken into positive consideration when the house was designed.

The second bungalow pictured in *American Architect*, in June of 1895, is a more literal interpretation (Fig. 3). This is a house for J. D. Grant at Burlingame, California, by A. Page Brown of San Francisco. Brown's bungalow is situated on a hillside, so that there is considerable basement height on the downhill side. With its deep gallery supported on great brackets, and the combination hip and gable roof, the structure suggests an authentic Himalayan chalet. Located on the San Francisco peninsula, the Grant bungalow probably was habitable the year around, unlike the earlier one on Cape Cod.

The *American Architect*'s third bungalow, in the issue of August 22, 1896, brings us considerably closer to the accepted concept of the true American bungalow. It was designed by Julius Adolph Schweinfurth, at this time associated with Peabody & Stearns,⁹ for the William H. Lincoln estate at Newton Center, near Boston (Fig. 4). A sloping site is compensated for by a curving, walled terrace, on which are set potted bay trees, decorative accessories that had become popular because of their adaptation to stylization during the Art Nouveau period. The house itself was low and nestled into the ground at the back, with long, banded windows around the semicircular end of the living room, and tall chimneys having flared caps, an original and attractive composition. The building fitted the definition for the "true bungalow" given in a contemporary magazine as a dwelling containing "no more than an absolutely necessary number of rooms," having "no attic, or second story, and no cellar."¹⁰ Its characteristics are: simple horizontal lines, wide projecting roofs, numerous windows, one or two large porches, and the woodwork of the plainest kind."¹¹ The Schweinfurth scheme shows the dissolution of the older idea that a bungalow is merely a "Summer residence of extreme simplicity, . . . intended for more or less primitive living."¹² The bungalow, rather, was beginning to be recognized as a genuine architectural form, not limited to the bare essentials of the Eastern ethnic shelter, but a creative interpretation based on that type, adjusted to meet modern democratic Western living standards. The article quoted above defining the "true bungalow" goes on to say: "The keynote of the bungalow of the best type is homeliness and general attractiveness without being pretentious." The assertion also is made that: "The designing of an artistic bungalow which will stand the test of time requires fully as much skill and education along this line as any other style of architecture." In the Schweinfurth design conceived in 1895 the bungalow attained its stride.

That the bungalow vogue was a continuation and an outgrowth of the cottage development in America becomes apparent through a comparison of certain select examples. In 1848 Charles Wyllis Elliott published a book in Cincinnati entitled *Cottages and Cottage Life, Containing Plans for Country Houses, Adapted to the Means and Wants of the People of the United States*. Among the plates was a lithographic view and plan of Frederic Tudor's house at Nahant, Massachusetts, a spreading building with low-pitched roofs and perimeter galleries supported on slender posts (Fig. 5). The walls are of stone, the roof covered with bark. We note similarities between this house and the two Massachusetts bungalows (cf. Figs. 2 and 4). The room arrangement shown, however, is admitted to be Elliott's own invention, recalled some time after visiting the house.

9. Information courtesy J. A. Schweinfurth, II, interviewed September 2, 1954.

10. An article in *Country Life in America* (x, 6, October, 1906, pp. 637-640) attributes the low cost of the bungalow to its single story, which (1) eliminates construction expense of a stairway, (2) makes external decoration unnecessary, the low form being pleasing in itself, (3) cuts down on vertical

plumbing extensions, (4) requires little hall space, (5) keeps framing at a minimum, (6) avoids heat waste up the stairwell, and (7) calls for plain interior trim.

11. "What Is a Bungalow?", *Arts and Decoration*, 1, 12, October, 1911, p. 487.

12. *Craftsman*, v, 3, December, 1903, p. 253.

Although the house as it stands today has been altered considerably, it is clear that the living room always spanned the entire front of the block, the plan being constituted not unlike that of Kipling's bungalow (Fig. 1).¹³ Special note should be made of the fact that this house has a real "living room," in the modern sense of the term, rather than the more stilted parlor (imagined by Elliott), then commonly employed. The living room was to become a conspicuous feature of the bungalow. The Nahant house hardly seems adaptable to year-round living on the cool and windswept New England cape. We are informed by A. J. Downing that Tudor was "well known in the four quarters of the world, as the originator of the present successful mode of shipping ice to the most distant tropical countries,"¹⁴ and we are left to wonder whether his enterprise extended to Hindustan. More likely it focused on our neighboring islands in the Caribbean.

Our attention is directed to domestic building in that tropic portion of the New World first mistaken by European explorers for parts of India, a false identity perpetuated in the designation "Indies." Perspective and measured drawings of a typical old farm house near Mariana, Cuba, were published in the International Edition of *American Architect and Building News* (December 28, 1907), the vacation sketches of Julius Adolph Schweinfurth (Fig. 7). The low-hipped roof of the house is double pitched, and the principal rooms form a railroad suite down the long axis of the house; a verandah half as wide extends along one side, and lesser rooms and a recessed porch along the other. This arrangement corresponds in its essentials with a second bungalow plan illustrated in the Kipling article, where the verandah, however, continues partially across the end of the Eastern house, which has two recessed porches at the back (Fig. 8). The Indian house, of course, has a clerestory, but the points in common, including similarities in shape, extremely thick walls, and openings placed on axis, make the two houses remarkably alike. Both schemes have resulted more from an aim to satisfy specific requirements than from adopting established forms traditional to the builders, and their similarities is explained by approximately the same climatic conditions. It is not unreasonable that a West Indies house resembling the Cuban building contributed to the design of the Nahant home of the ice exporter.

Of far greater importance than a possible Caribbean influence upon a single mid-nineteenth century house in New England is the impact of early Spanish colonial insular architecture upon a host of dwellings built along the Mississippi River by the French prior to 1762, and afterwards by the French and Spanish.¹⁵ "Madame John's Legacy" (ca. 1727), on Dumaine Street in New Orleans, reputedly the oldest existing house in the valley, bears resemblances to the Cuban farmhouse in its gallery, double-pitched roof, plan, etc., though the Louisiana house is elevated high above ground level due to the saturation of the soil here.¹⁶ The "raised-cottage" type prevailing throughout the region left many characteristic examples that excited some interest among Americans in the renewed enthusiasm for colonial architecture during the last quarter of the 1800's.¹⁷ Pictures of old houses of the Deep South appeared in magazines (Fig. 6). At the World's Columbian Exposition of 1892-1893 in Chicago, the Louisiana exhibition was housed in a raised-cottage building styled after Creole plantation residences on the Bayou St. Jean north of the Old Quarter of the Crescent City.¹⁸

Visitors to the fair from all sections of the country examined the Louisiana pavilion. It was one structure that avoided the classic grandiosity of most of the buildings of the "White City" at

13. The house now serves as headquarters for the Thomson (Country) Club.

14. Andrew Jackson Downing, *Rural Essays*, New York, 1857, p. 188.

15. The Spanish, it will be remembered, held dominion over the western territory from 1762 until a short while before its acquisition by the United States government in the Louisiana Purchase Act of 1803.

16. See Buford L. Pickens, "Regional Aspects of Early Louisiana Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, VII, 1-2, 1948, pp. 33-36; Charles E. Peterson, "French Landmarks Along the Mississippi," *Antiques*, LIII, 1948, pp. 286-288.

17. Revived colonial became popular as a result of McKim, Mead and White's "Colonial Tour" of 1877, and the buildings they—and others—designed in this idiom. Periodicals and books also did their share to further the trend towards the eighteenth century style.

18. Illustrated in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, Chicago and San Francisco, 1893, II, p. 799.

Chicago, which, according to Louis Sullivan, would lead American architecture astray for the next half-century.¹⁹ Sullivan already had built himself a single-storied shingled bungalow at Ocean Springs, Mississippi, about midway between New Orleans and Mobile, a hipped-roof, T-plan house with a long piazza facing Biloxi Bay, shaded, and partially concealed, by luxuriant tropic vegetation, and harmonizing in many of its characteristics with indigenous building (Fig. 9).²⁰ During the decade or two following the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago's north shore became dotted with bungalows of this type.²¹

The other area within the boundaries of the United States offering preexisting models from which elements were borrowed freely by the bungalow movement was the Southwest. The Spanish colonizers here evolved a type similar to that of the Caribbean, through having as a special feature a partially enclosed court or patio, encircled by an inner gallery. The walls of these houses were of adobe bricks, composed of a mixture of loam, sand, clay, straw and tile chips or other binder, hardened in the sun, and covered with a mud coating that was whitewashed yearly, becoming, in the course of time, a protective lime plaster. Floors and roof were of tile or wood. Buildings in the dry inland region often had flat roofs, like that of the Palace of the Governors at Santa Fe, New Mexico, dating from the early seventeenth century. The plan (Fig. 10), of which the major rooms occupied the full width and the others half, had corner fireplaces; it was taken over in abridged form for an adobe residence in the same city built by the architect V. O. Wallingford during the early years of this century (text fig. 1).²²

Early *casas de campo* or *casas de pueblo* (there was little difference between rural and town houses) on the West Coast were similar to, and equally as plain as, colonial adobe houses in the region to the eastward just noted, though generally belonging to a later period. Few existing houses are known to have been built in what is now California before 1800. Typical of those dating from the second and third decades of the nineteenth century are the single-storied Francisco Ávila house (ca. 1818) on Olvera Street, Los Angeles, a narrow rectangular form preceded by a deep wooden gallery,²³ and the Casa Estudilla ("Ramona's Marriage Place"—1824), in Old Town, San Diego, embracing three sides of a patio.²⁴ The early stage of the Spanish colonial revival along the Pacific often overlooked the simplicity of the original domestic shelters, making use of elaborate details borrowed from Franciscan churches, as in the D. R. Cameran and D. M. Smyth houses in southern California, built in the 1890's.²⁵ This was the so-called "mission style," which name carried over into furniture that made little pretense of disguising the fact that it was assembled from rectangular pieces of lumber.²⁶ "Mission" design in furniture was a special branch of the craftsmanship movement, though most of its products did little credit to the high level of skill and sensitivity which

19. "The damage wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer." Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan*, New York, 1935, p. 184.

20. Publications have created some confusion over the authorship and identification of the buildings on the Sullivan and adjoining estate(s), the designs of which were evidently produced in the office of Adler & Sullivan. For instance, Henry-Russell Hitchcock attributes them to Frank Lloyd Wright (1890), while an apprentice in the Chicago office (*In the Nature of Materials*, New York, 1942, p. 11); and he notes that his accompanying illustration of the Sullivan bungalow (*ibid.*, fig. 4) is a photograph of a structure that does not correspond with early plans of it. We await the appearance of a monograph now in preparation by Messrs. Richard Nickel and Aaron Siskind, *The Complete Architecture of Adler & Sullivan*, for the untangling of the Ocean Springs group. Meanwhile, the reader is referred to an article by Lyndon P. Smith, "The Home of an Artist-Architect," *Architectural Record*, xvii, 6, June, 1905, pp. 471-490, which presents plans and views of the Sullivan estate, the much shaded residence proper looking about the same as in the accompanying contemporary photograph, except for the removal

of a couple of shed dormers from the front slope of the roof.

21. Typical of which is the W. C. Egan bungalow: *Country Life in America*, II, 3, July, 1902, p. lxv; III, 5, March, 1903, p. 211.

22. Also in the June 1907 issue of *House Beautiful* (xxii, 1, p. 25) is a view of this house from the southeast, showing it to have had a low-pitched hipped roof, and minor variations with the plan, in the number and arrangement of gallery supports, and fenestration.

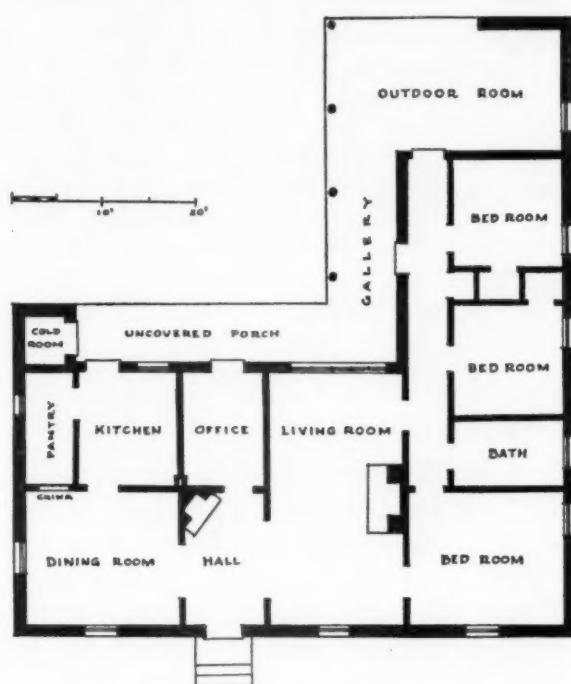
23. Eva Scott Fényes and Isabel López de Fages, *32 Adobe Houses of Old California*, Los Angeles, 1950, p. 26.

24. Donald R. Hannaford and Revel Edwards, *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California, 1800-1850*, New York, 1931, pp. 82-83.

25. Pictured among the plates in *Inland Architect*, xxxii, 6, January, 1899.

26. A series of articles on the western missions was published in the *Craftsman* (v-vi) in 1904 (by George Wharton James) and in the *Inland Architect* (xlvi) in 1906 (by W. L. B. Jenney). For typical pieces of "mission" furniture see: *Architectural Record*, xxiii, 6, June, 1908, p. 456.

the movement purported to advocate. In building, the domestic prototype is remembered today through the much overworked—and usually misapplied—designation “ranch house,” the predecessor of which was the “ranch bungalow” antedating the First World War, such as the J. C. McConnell home (ca. 1911), built on a small ranch near Burbank, California, by A. S. Barnes and E. B. Rust (Fig. 11).²⁷ The patio, or court, is incidental in this scheme called “modern in every respect.” The design is typical of California, where inspiration was drawn freely from many sources, but where the role of the Spanish *rancho* or *hacienda* (farm) house can hardly be overlooked, inasmuch as California furnished the soil on which the bungalow primarily took root and flourished;



1. Adobe House, Santa Fe (Redrawn from *House Beautiful*, June 1907, p. 25)

and the balance of the United States often spoke not of “bungalow” alone, but of “California bungalow” as the more meaningful appellation.

There were several reasons why California became the bungalow hotbed. In the first place the bungalow here was found to be a comfortable perennial home, not limited to summer vacation periods. A writer framed this idea in the following words: “California, on account of its favorable climatic conditions, affords unending opportunity for variety in the construction as well as in the architecture of the house, large or small.”²⁸ Secondly, Californians were more willing to apply new ideas to house building than were the Atlantic folk: “It is only natural that our first original modern expression of domestic architecture should show itself on the Pacific coast, for the people of the West are above all things pioneers and have a way of dashing aside all tradition and prejudice and getting directly at the thing that meets their requirements in the most practical way. The people of the East are inevitably more conservative, and the fact that Europe is easier of access to them accounts for their more general dependence upon architectural forms . . . they have seen and admired abroad.”²⁹ A third reason for the success of the bungalow in California was sought in

27. The plan of this house consists of a central living room, with four bedrooms and bath off a corridor to the right and rear, a dining room, kitchen and pantry to the left and rear (the court in the narrow space between the two wings), and a den and porch in front extending into a *porte-cochère* off the dining room: *Craftsman*, xxii, 2, May, 1912, p. 210.

28. George A. Clark, “Bungalow Architecture from a Layman’s Viewpoint,” *House Beautiful*, xxiv, 5, October, 1908, p. 103.

29. “The Theory of Grosvenor Atterbury . . . That Originality in Architecture Springs Only from the Direct Meeting of Material Conditions,” *Craftsman*, xvi, 3, June, 1909, p. 300.

the designers themselves. A bungalow proponent of the second decade of the twentieth century stated it this way: "In design there is no special reason why there should be any difference between California and the rest of the country. *But there is*; and it is due to the fact that California architects, and even carpenters and builders are *more generally artists* than those in other parts of our country."³⁰ Architects predisposed toward designing bungalows naturally gravitated to the state providing appreciation for and patronage of their work.

"The bungalow of the Land of Sunshine is distinctly a California creation," declared an enthusiast in 1906.³¹ Some years later another attempted to sketch "The Evolution of the Bungalow" in California:

In the beginning was the barn. Persons of small means when they first came to California often found it desirable to put all their money into land and the young orchards which were to make their fortunes. They decided to live themselves in a small structure which should be the barn of the future house. These barns were at first constructed with Eastern solidity, with heavy posts and beams, and completely finished on the inside as barns, with stalls, mangers and other like fittings. The human tenant generally decorated the carriage house with burlap,³² or 'Old Government Java' coffee bags, held in place by split bamboo strips; and this with a rough fireplace, a few good pieces of furniture, and the shadows of the rafters overhead, made a really delightful living-room. The great barn doors were generally left open, giving an outdoor effect very grateful to the lovers of the sun and space.

The next step was to build only the outside shell of a barn, dividing it into rooms with temporary partitions. . . .

Later, travelers from distant lands noticed the resemblances between these wide-spreading, one-story houses and the East Indian "bungalow," and thenceforward these dwellings ceased to be temporary; but putting on wide verandas and a dignified name, sprang up in every direction, as intentional homes.³³

Awareness of the affinity to the Indian caravanserai, then, constituted a definite step in the formation of the California bungalow. The Grant house at Burlingame (Fig. 3), and another example bearing "a close resemblance to its prototype in India," built at Palm Springs not later than 1910, serve to illustrate the phase.³⁴ With regard to the latter it was pointed out that inasmuch as hot weather comes to Palm Springs as early as May: "The roof is double, ventilators extend all around, and the inside doors are supplied with large transoms," as in the authentic Hindustan design.³⁵ However, the California bungalow progressed beyond the literal stage which bequeathed title to the small house that grew out of the barn.

Eventually some great man discovered that as there was no snow and really no violent storms in California, a house could be made to stand up without a frame, that it could be built of nothing but upright boards reaching from sill to plate, with scantling as cross-ties. . . .

Most of the best bungalows are made of broad redwood boards with weather stripping, and are mill finished inside.

It was stressed that wood was left in its natural finish, or perhaps given a stain, one of the cheapest consisting of asphalt dissolved in hot turpentine, a lump six inches square being sufficient to stain a whole house.³⁶

The "great man" now credited with inaugurating the bungalow of upright boards was not a single individual but a team, two brothers, fifteen months apart in age, Charles Sumner and Henry Mather Greene, who had come to California to visit their parents, and stayed to open an office at Pasadena in 1894. Preparations for their vocation had begun at the Manual Training High School operated by Washington University in St. Louis, where they had lived during adolescence. Ad-

30. Peter B. Wight, "California Bungalows," *Western Architect*, XXVII, 10, October, 1918, p. 97.

31. Waldon Fawcett, "Bungalows in Southern California," *Architects' and Builders' Magazine*, XXXVIII, July, 1906, p. 419.

32. The East Indian bungalow often had a false ceiling of calcined calico: Kipling, "The Origin of the Bungalow," *Country Life in America*, XIX, 8, February, 1911, p. 308.

33. M. H. Lazear, "The Evolution of the Bungalow,"

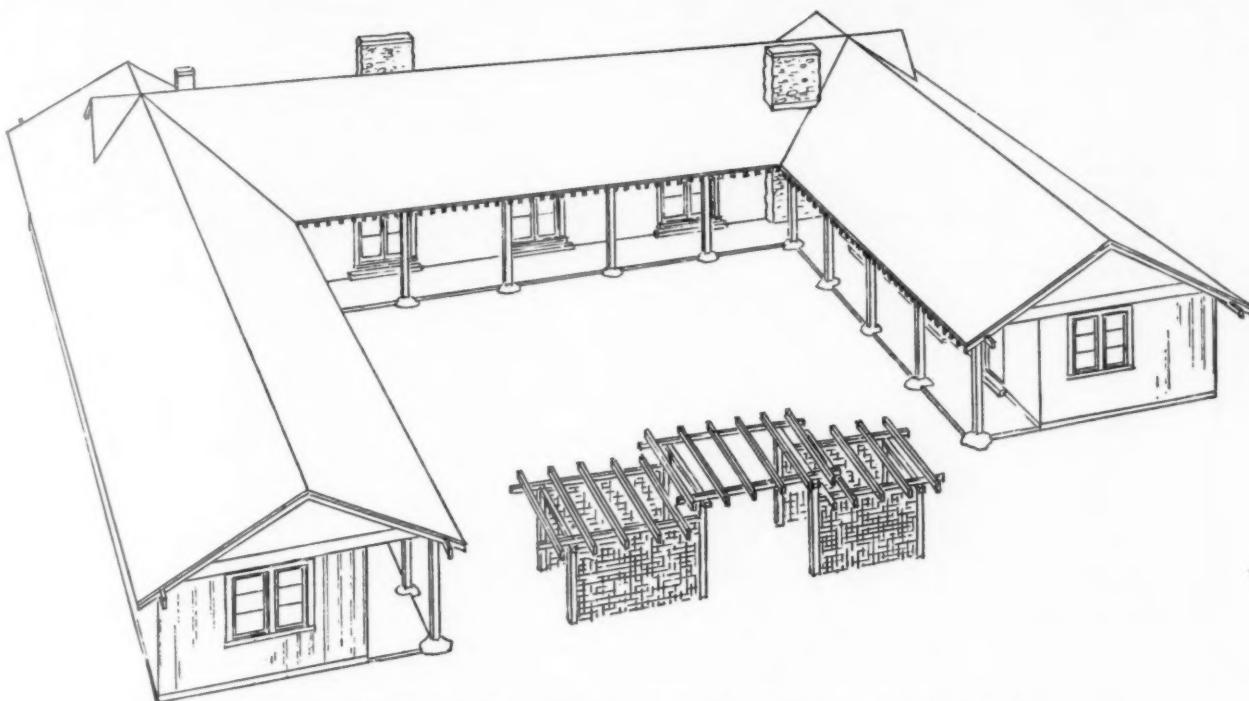
House Beautiful, XXXVI, 7, June, 1914, p. 2.

34. Mrs. B. W. McKenzie, "A Home in the Desert," *Country Life in America*, XX, 3, June 1, 1911, p. 76.

35. The Palm Springs bungalow, with its hipped roof, closely resembles another building shown in Kipling's article on "The Origin of the Bungalow," (note 32 above), which is fig. 7, "A bungalow at Cawnpore" (p. 309).

36. Lazear, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-3.

vanced study was pursued at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, after which they obtained practical experience in several Boston architectural firms.³⁷ In southern California their early work was in revived colonial, "Queen Anne," Spanish mission, and Old English vernaculars, prior to 1903, when they were given a commission for the Arturo Bandini bungalow. Bandini specified that his house was to reflect the patio plan of the homes of his ancestors in this locale, and the outcome was a U-shaped bungalow having a gallery around three sides of the court, with a pergola forming a screen across the open end (text fig. 2).³⁸ Construction was in the simplest manner, of redwood



2. Arturo Bandini Bungalow, Pasadena, California (Restoration by the author)

boards set upright; the joints both inside and outside were covered with three-inch battens. The board walls were stained on the exterior and given a "thin light oil finish to prevent spotting of the wood and yet retain as nearly as possible its natural color" within. The interior provided "much room and comfort and artistic possibilities at comparatively small outlay."³⁹ The exposed cobblestones of the chimneys were brought into the rooms. Living and dining rooms were located at the base of the U-form (text fig. 3). Both rooms were about twice as long as wide, and with folding doors opened back between them the effect was that of a single hall fifteen by sixty-five feet. Kitchen, pantries and service rooms, and a bath were in one corner, and there were three bedrooms in each wing. The arrangement may have been derived from Spanish colonial antecedents, but there was none of the enclosed feeling one gets from thick adobe walls. The lightness of construction came from Japan. The Greene brothers visited the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 and the Mid Winter Exposition at San Francisco the following year, and at both were impressed and delighted by the Japanese constructions conceived especially for the fairs.⁴⁰ The one at Chicago was styled after Yorimichi's mid-eleventh century villa at Uji, the Hōō-dō, later used as a temple;

37. Jean Murray Bangs, "Greene & Greene," *Architectural Forum*, LXXXIX, 4, October, 1948, p. 82; The author's "My Interviews with Greene and Greene," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, XXVIII, 3, July, 1957, pp. 202-206.

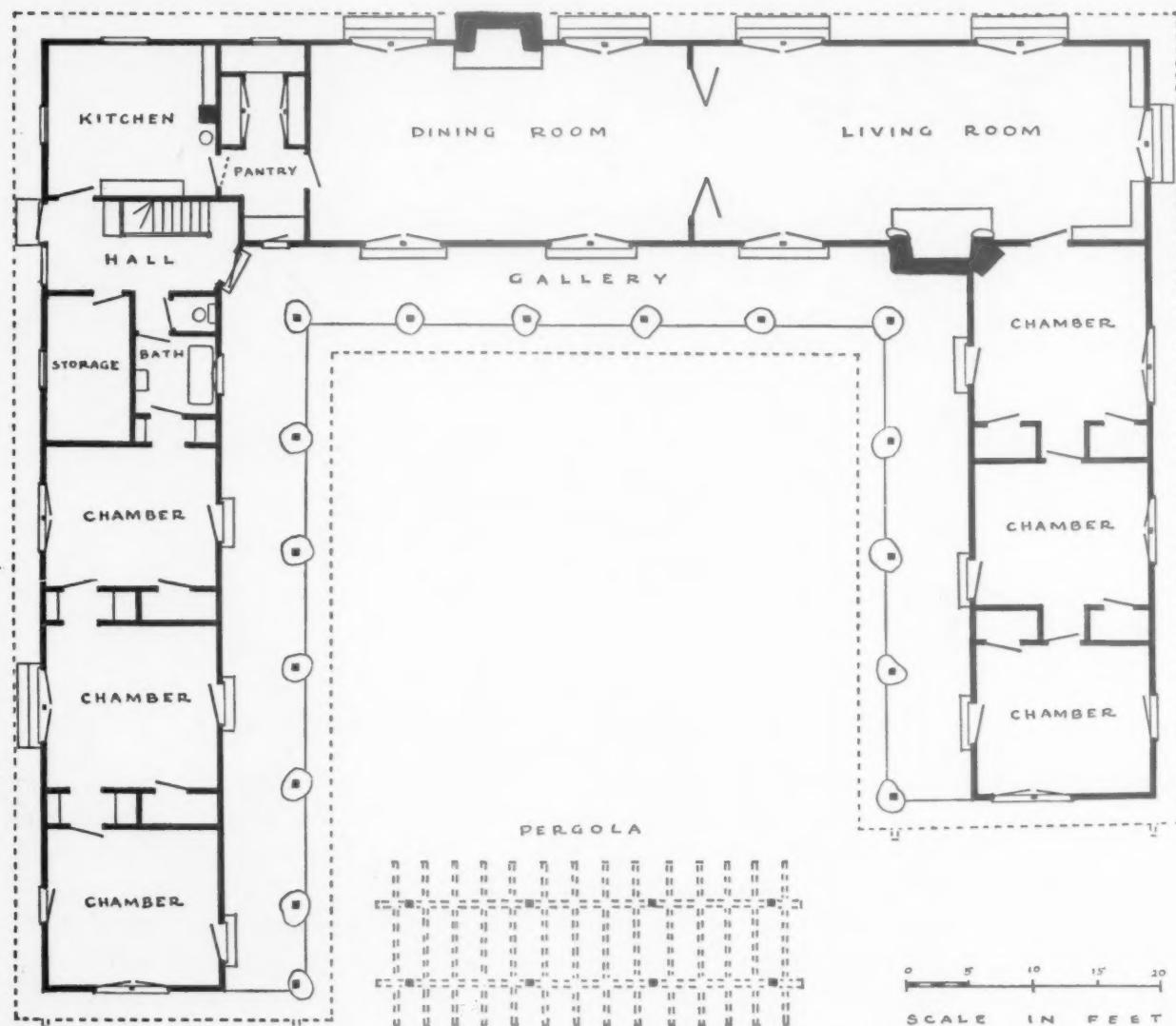
38. The author is very much indebted to Mr. Donald L. Pray of Grossmont, California, for having located the Bandini house for him (1149 San Pasqual Street, Pasadena), and for supplying him with certain architectural details supple-

menting his material gathered earlier on the West Coast, making possible the completion of this restoration drawing.

39. Seymour E. Locke, "Bungalows, What They Really Are: The Frequent Misapplication of the Name," *House & Garden*, XII, 2, August, 1907, p. 50.

40. Information related during an interview with the late Henry Mather Greene, April 1, 1954 (see note 37).

it is considered by the Japanese to be their first building in mature native style.⁴¹ The Chicago version was brought in pieces from Nippon and assembled on the fair grounds by Japanese workmen. At San Francisco the exhibit took the form of a Japanese hill-and-water garden, its architectural features including a two-story gateway and two-story house, a theatre, tea house and another small pavilion, and an arched bridge and several stone lanterns. The brothers also collected photographs of Japanese buildings, many of which are preserved in the Carmel studio of the late Charles



3. Bandini Bungalow, plan (Sketch by author)

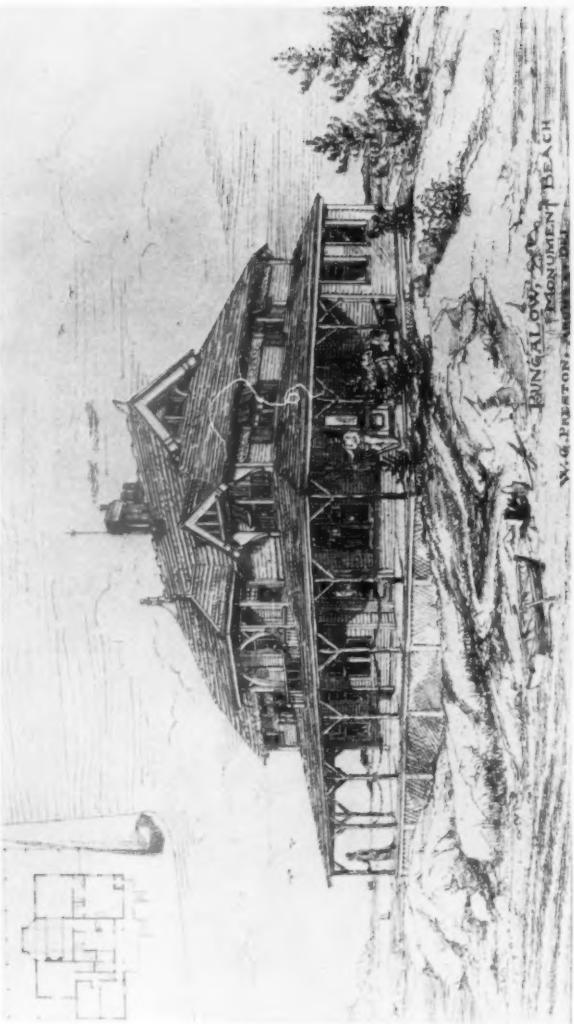
Sumner Greene. Unmistakably Japanese was the practice of resting the bases of posts upon rounded stones half sunk into the ground which function as supports in the Bandini bungalow gallery.

Japanese influence became most strongly pronounced in Greene and Greene's work beginning in 1906. Two outstanding residences begun this year were the Tichenor house of brick and wood at Long Beach (Ocean Boulevard and First Place), facing the sea, discussed and illustrated in Embury's *One Hundred Country Houses*, published three years later,⁴² and the shingled Theodore Irwin house in Pasadena, constructed on a corner lot separated from the Charles Sumner Greene property by the old covered reservoir, overlooking the beautiful Arroyo Valley, site of the later

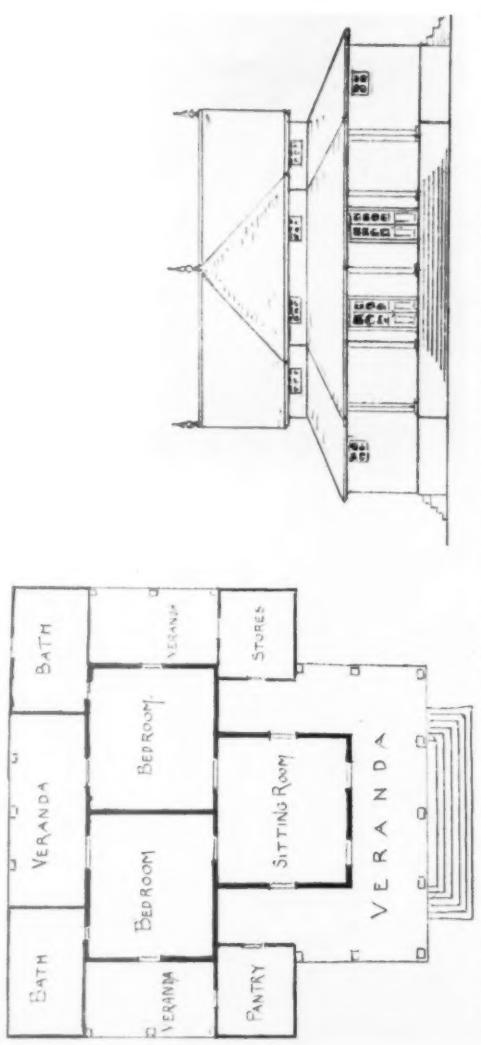
⁴¹. The author's "Japanese Buildings in the United States Before 1900: Their Influence upon American Domestic Architecture," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 3, September, 1953, pp. 220-

221, figs. 8, 9, 11.

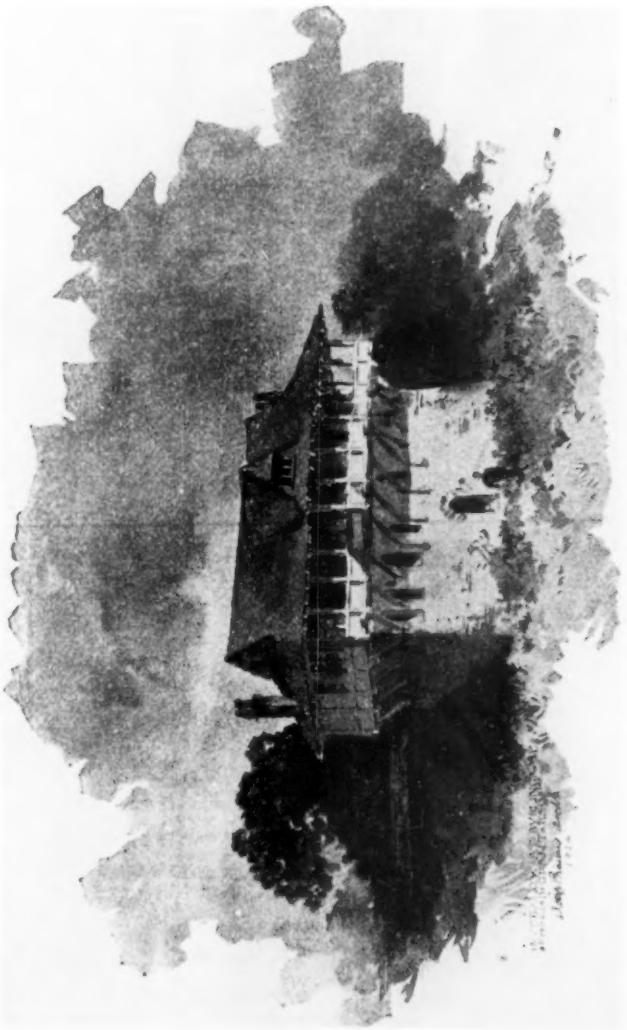
⁴². Aymar Embury, II, *One Hundred Country Houses, Modern American Examples*, New York, 1909, pp. 215-221.



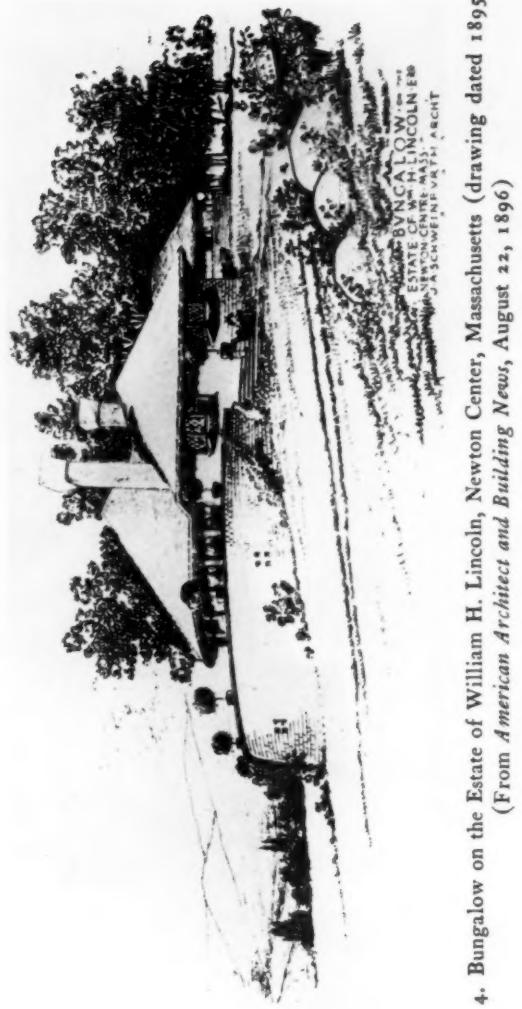
1. Indian Government dāk or Posting Bungalow (From *Country Life in America*, February 1911, p. 309)



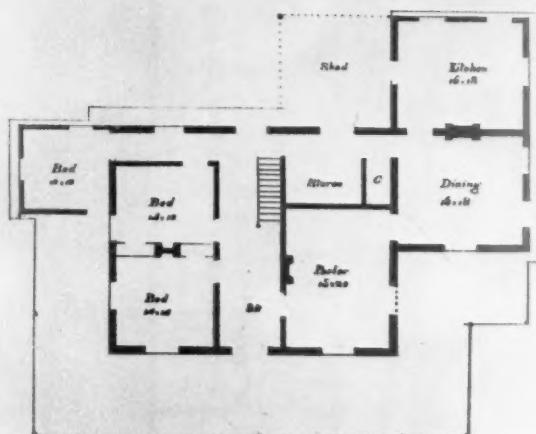
2. Bungalow, Monument Beach (plan in insert)
(From *American Architect and Building News*, March 27, 1880)



3. J. D. Grant Bungalow, Burlingame, California
(From *American Architect and Building News*, June 8, 1895, p. 95)

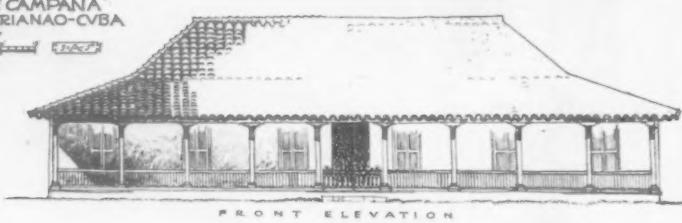
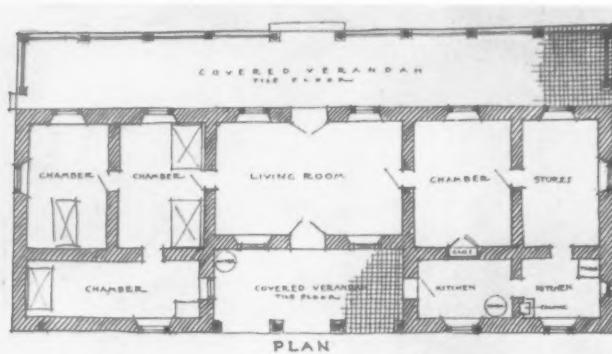
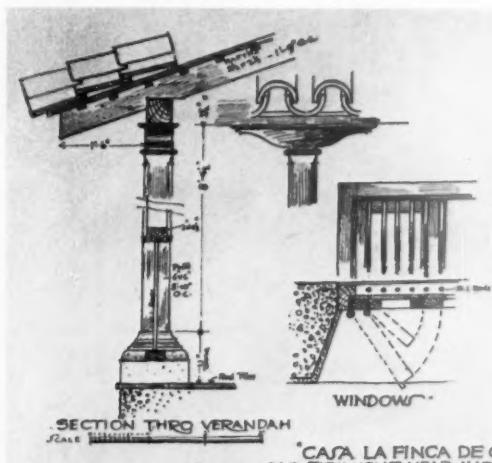


4. Bungalow on the Estate of William H. Lincoln, Newton Center, Massachusetts (drawing dated 1895)
(From *American Architect and Building News*, August 22, 1896)

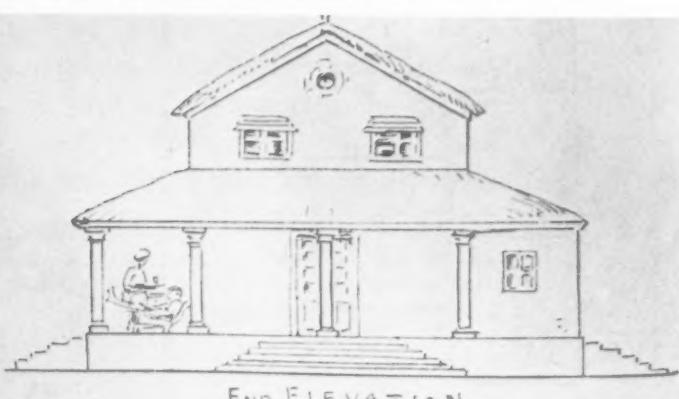
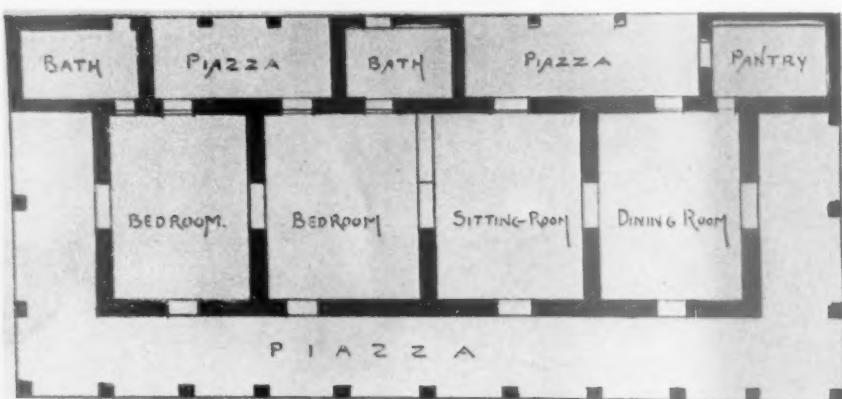


6. Old Residence, Biloxi, Mississippi (From *Inland Architect*, August 1897)

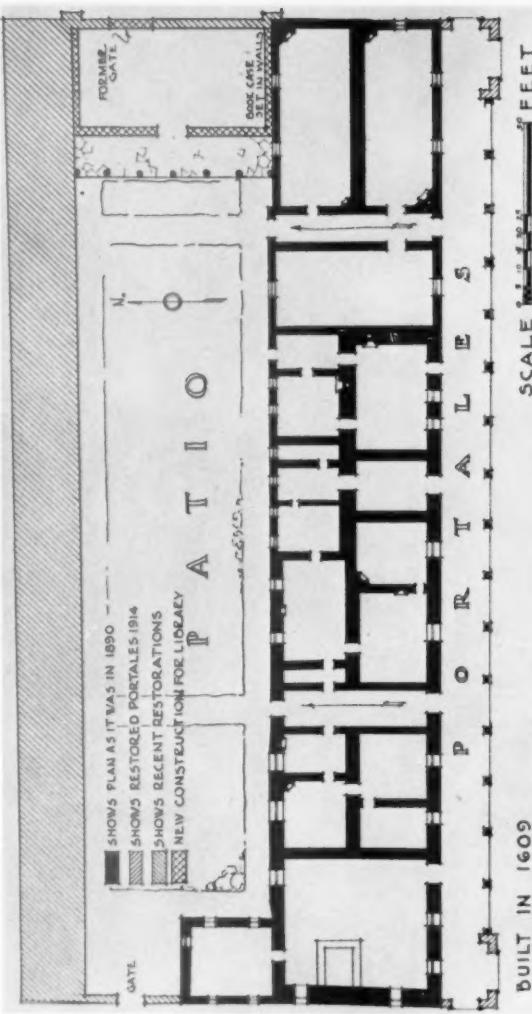
5. Mr. Tudor's House, Nahant, Massachusetts (From Charles Wyllis Elliott, *Cottages and Cottage Life*, Cincinnati, 1848, opp. p. 133)



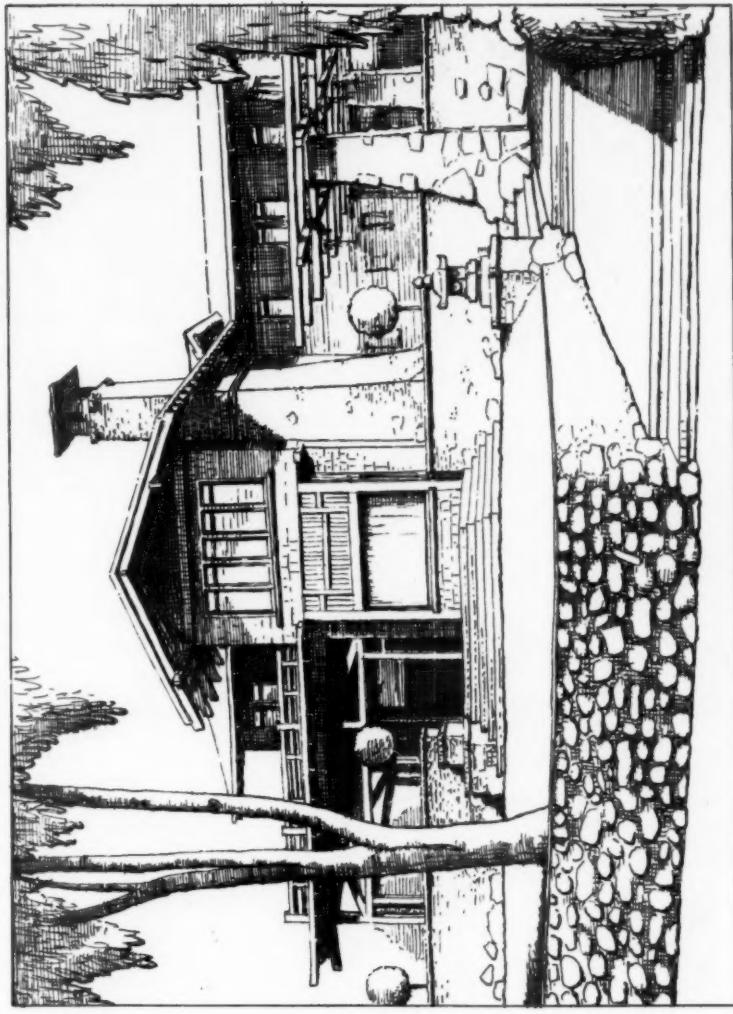
7. Old Farm House near Marianao, Cuba (From *American Architect and Building News*, December 28, 1907)



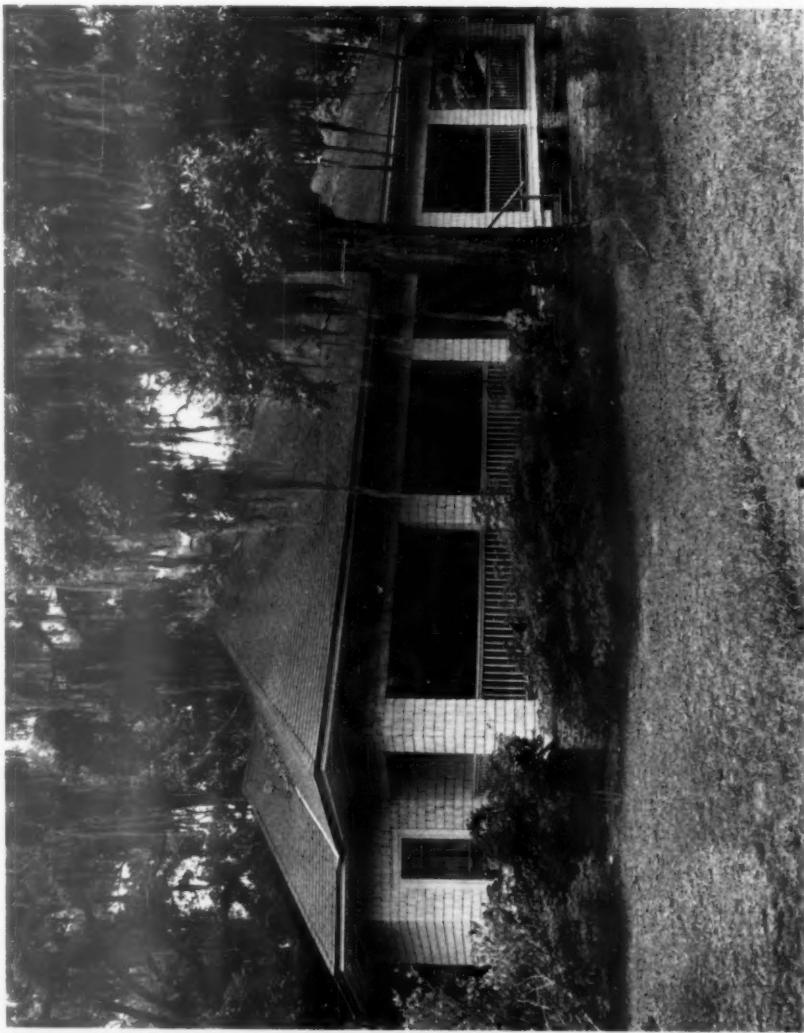
8. Indian Bungalow (From *Country Life in America*, February 1911, p. 310)



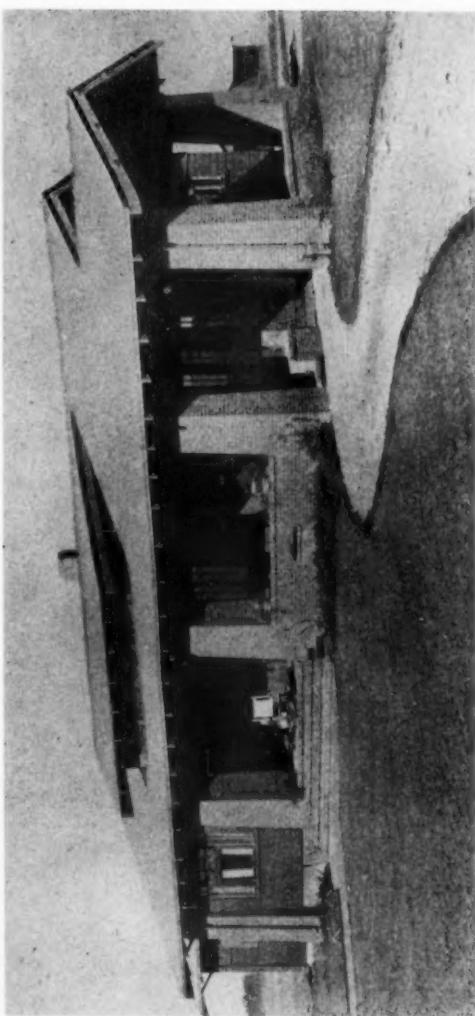
10. Governor's Palace, Santa Fe, New Mexico (From Rexford Newcomb, *Spanish Colonial Architecture in the United States*, New York 1937, pl. 40)



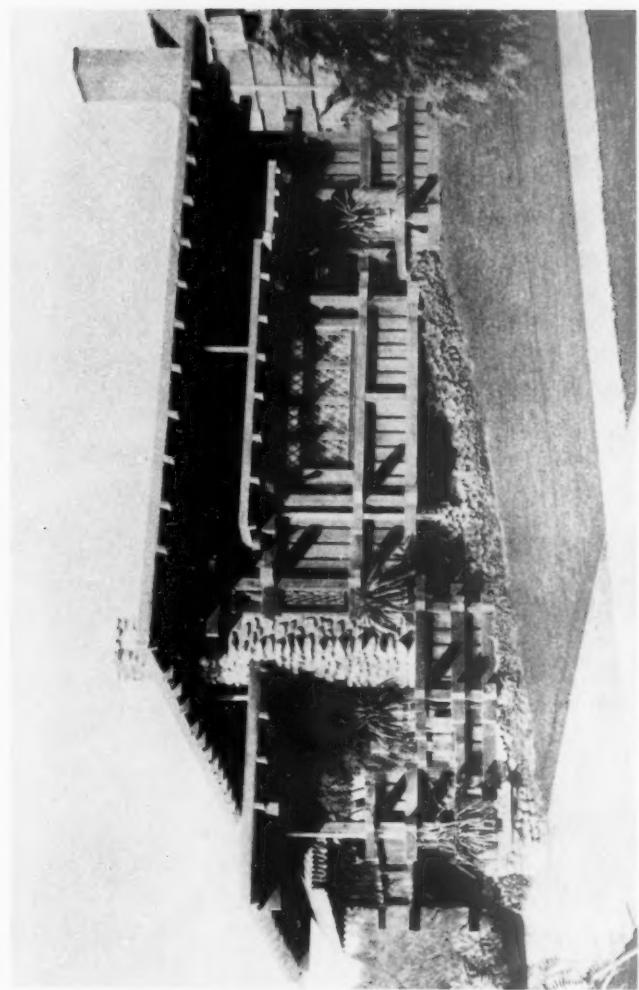
11. Ranch Bungalow near Burbank, California (Drawing by author based on photo in *Craftsman*, August 1912, p. 543)



9. Louis Sullivan's Bungalow, Ocean Springs, Mississippi (photo: Richard Nickel)



11. Ranch Bungalow near Burbank, California (From *Craftsman*, May 1912, p. 209)



14. Bungalow, Pasadena, John C. Austin, Architect (From *Western Architect*, June 1909)

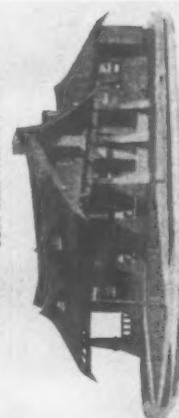


13. Charles Pratt House near Ojai, California (photo: Wayne Andrews)

BUNGALOWS DIRECT FROM BUNGALOW LAND

Perfect Gems of Home Com-

fort and Attractiveness



Design No. 18 Built of Stained Rustic
Siding and Shingles Cost \$2,200

My designs have been selected from the very best types of bungalows in Southern California, which have become so popular throughout America. They are *practical in any part of the country*. Special specifications are prepared by an expert familiar with all the details of eastern and northern localities.

Now is the time to build, as lumber and labor are 30 per cent cheaper than it was six months ago.

If You are Interested in Home Building—

Take Advantage of My Special Offer

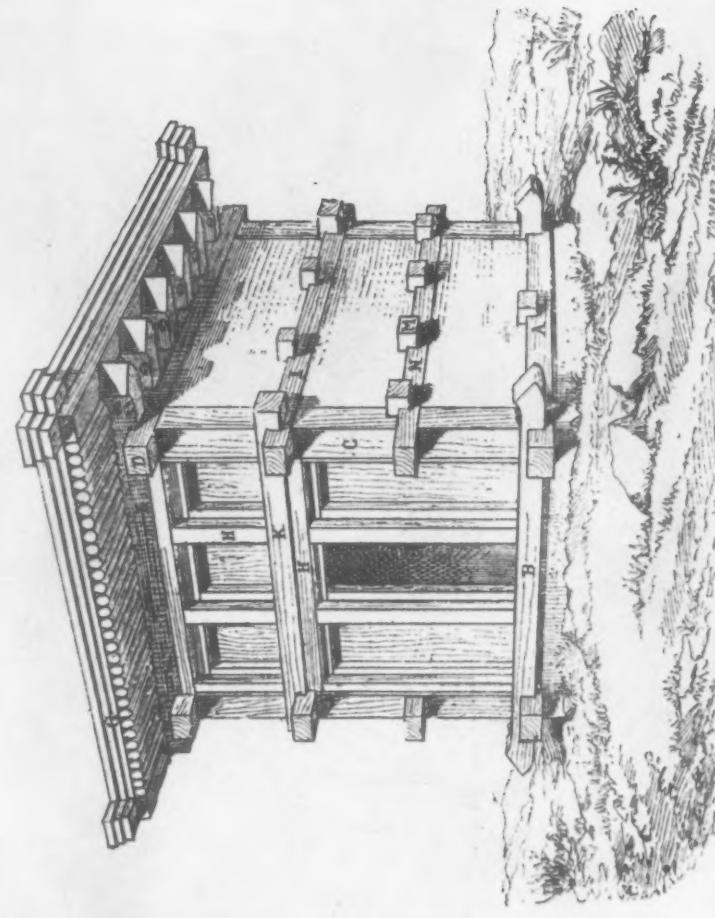
My experience of over ten years in the East enables me to prepare specifications and make structural details suitable for building these houses in cold as well as in warm climates.

My terms, for making plans, etc., are stamped on the back of each photograph.

These designs are entirely different from anything that has been published along these lines.

F. G. BROWN, Architect
624-5 Security Bldg.
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

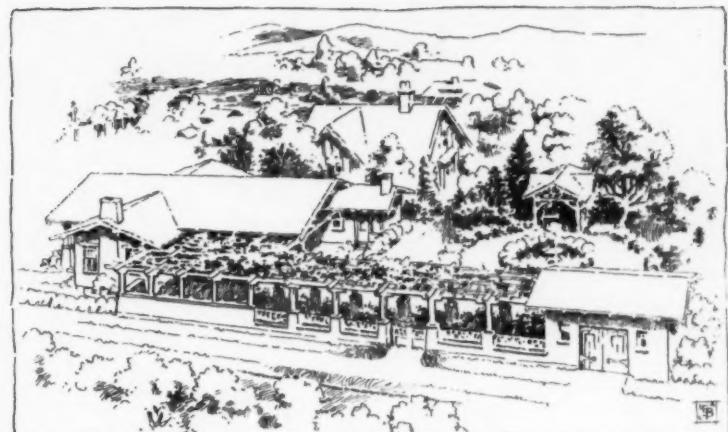
15. Bungalow Design (adv.) (From *House Beautiful*, May 1908, p. 50)



16. Restoration Drawing of Lycian House, Asia Minor (From *American Architect and Building News*, September 30, 1908, p. 106)



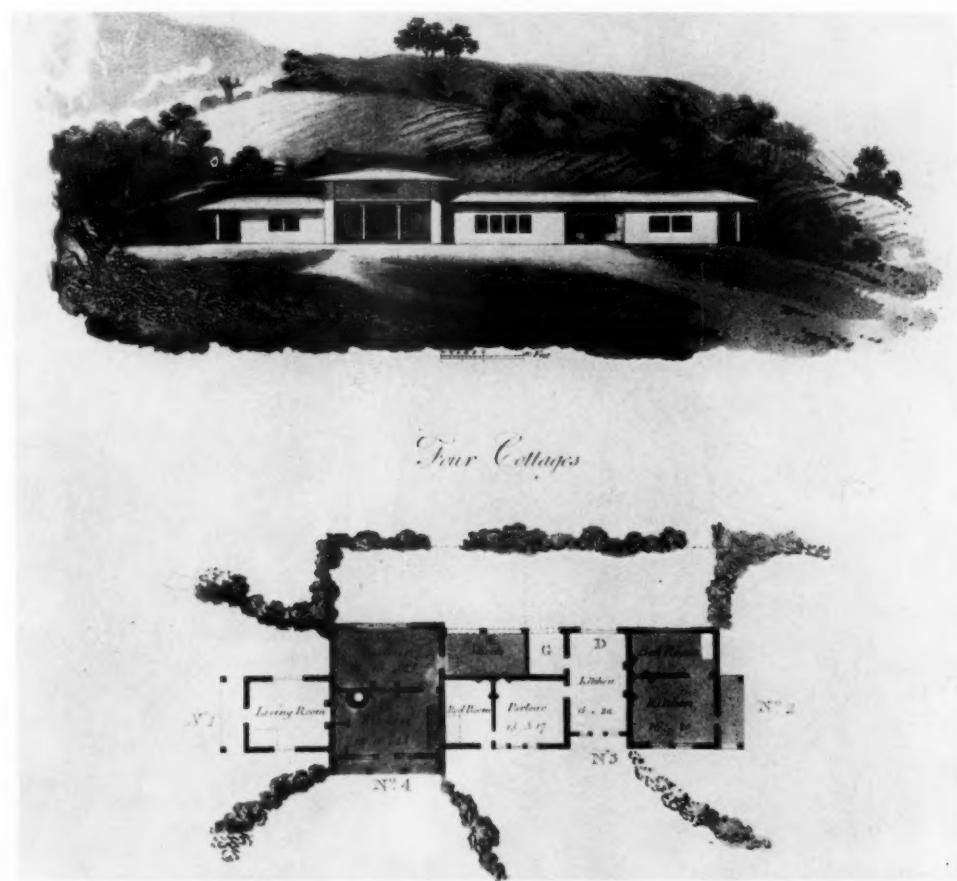
17. Dr. Ralph N. Maxson Bungalow, Lexington, Kentucky (photo ca. 1910)



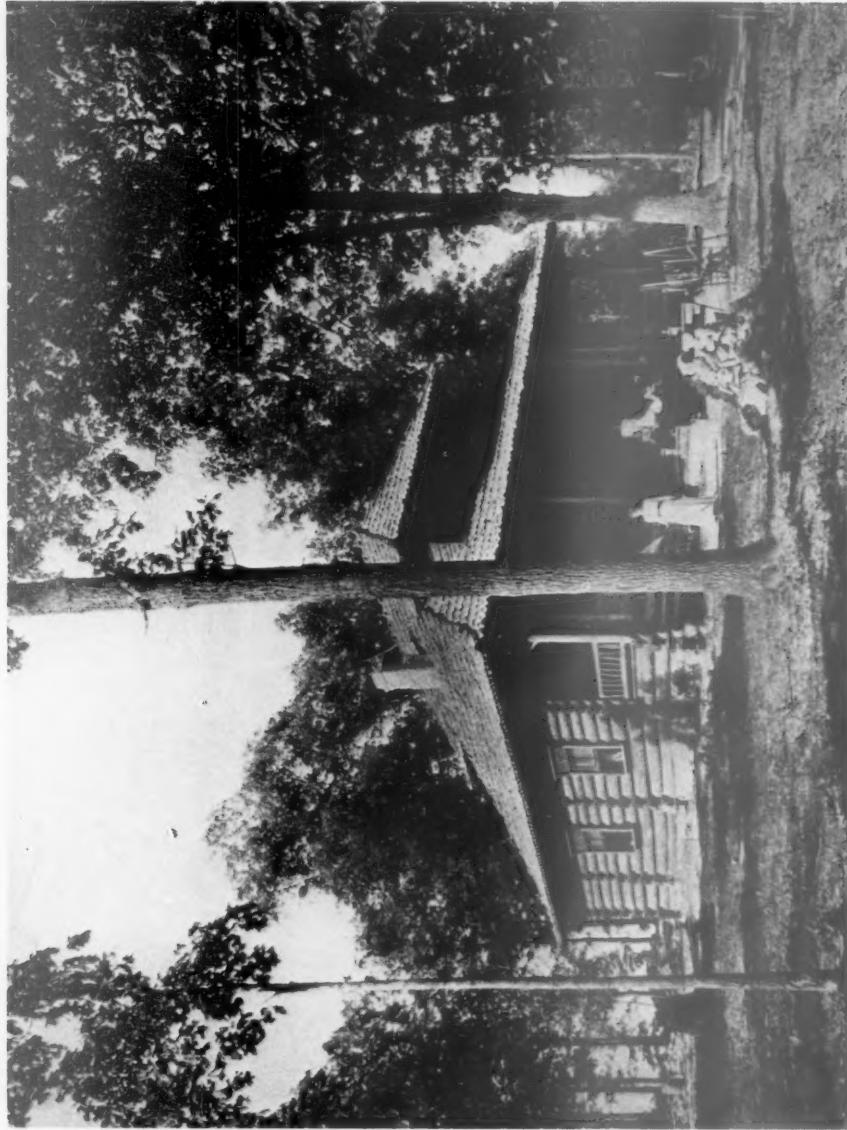
18. Perspective Sketch of a Five-room Bungalow (From *Bungalow Magazine*, April 1910, p. 46)



19. Warren Hickox House, Kankakee, Illinois (From *Architectural Record*, July 1905, p. 60)



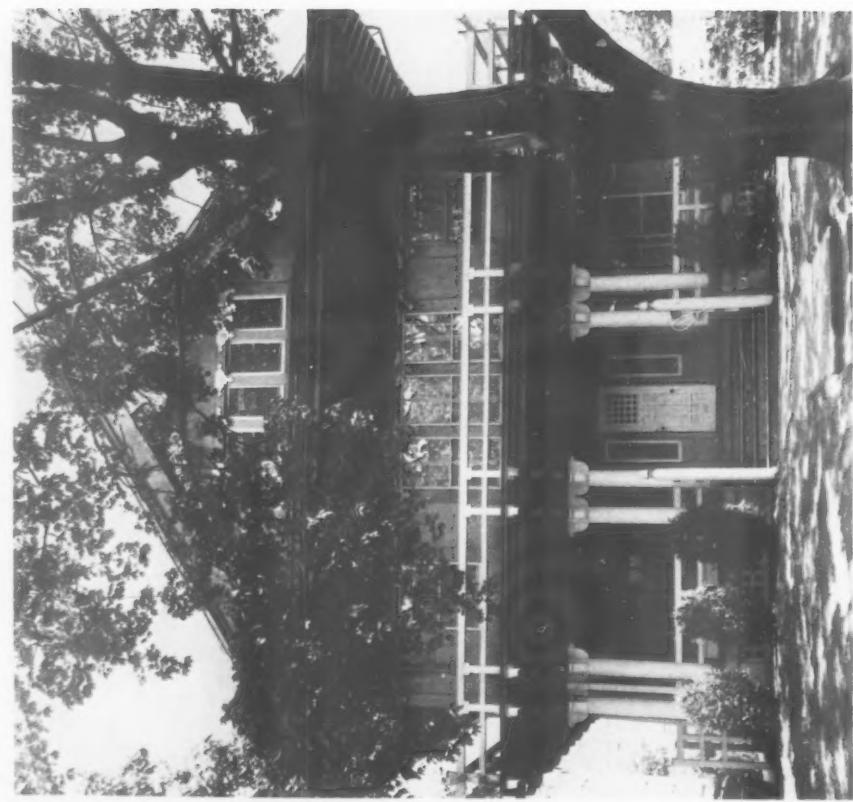
20. Rural House Made up of "Four Cottages"
(From Joseph Gandy, *Rural Architect*, London, 1805, pl. xxiii)



21. Architect's Rendering of an "East Indian Bungalow," Brooklyn, New York
(From *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 7, 1902, p. 11)



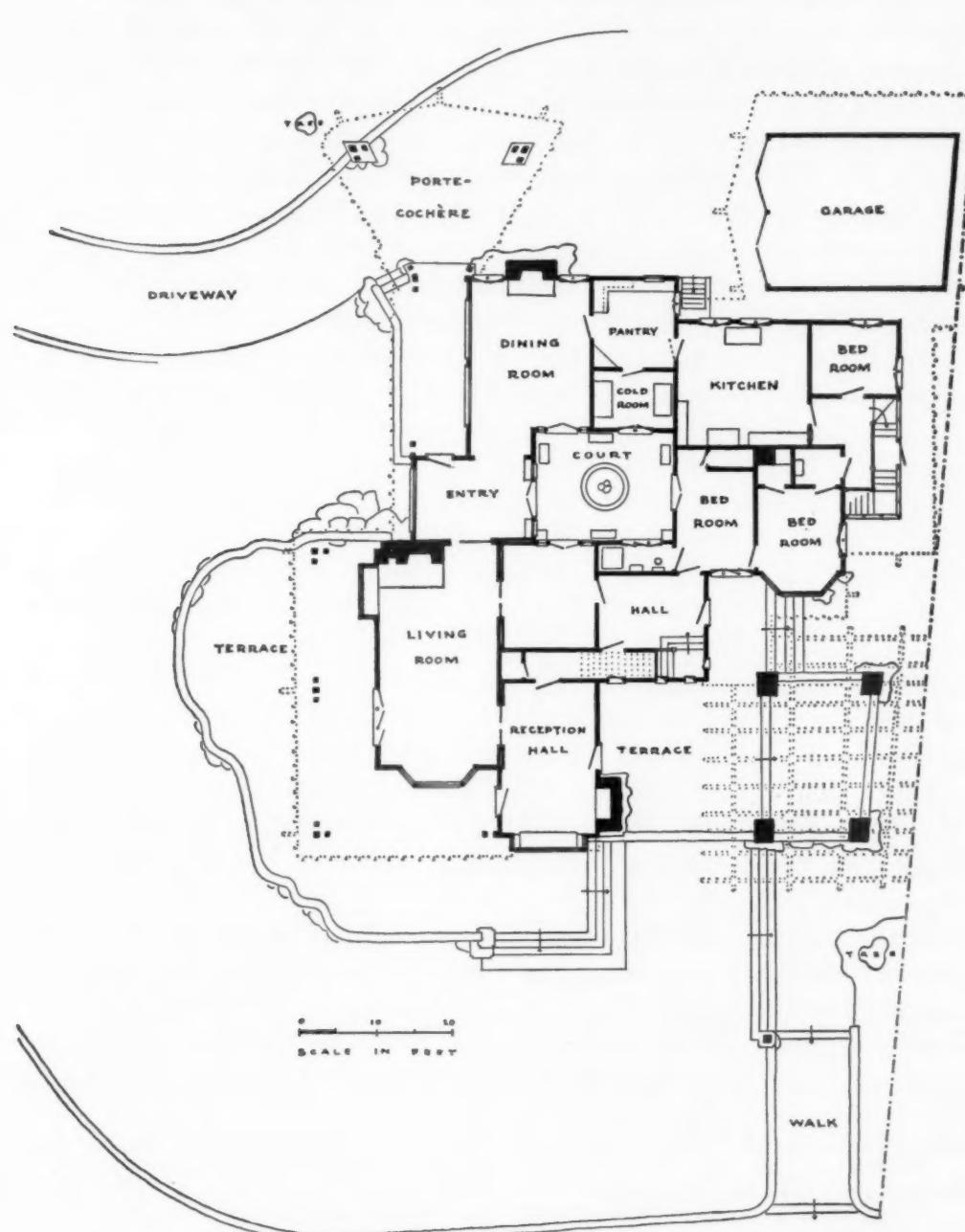
22. Charles Basham Bungalow, White Bluff, Tennessee (From *Western Architect*, October 1907)



23. Dean Alvord House, Brooklyn, New York, As Built from Design in Fig. 21
(photo: Lancaster)

24. "Seashore Bungalow," Crane Estate, Woods Hole, Massachusetts (photo: Lancaster)

Rose Bowl. The Irwin residence was situated near the south line of the more or less trapezoidal lot, with only enough space for a walk between the building and the rustic lattice fence. Coming up the front walk from North Grand Avenue one went around the huge eucalyptus tree and the arbored porch to a flight of steps ascending to the terrace and confronting a modest door to the stairhall; or else one mounted the long bank of steps arranged like a seat along the front walk, and crossed the lawn to the living-room terrace, entering the far side of the reception room (Fig. 12 and text fig. 4). The submergence of the entrances was not the most conspicuous Japanese feature in this irregular composition of so much open timberwork and deep eaves. The chimneys were somewhat pagoda-like, there being no authentic prototype for smoke conduits in Japan other than open gables in primitive farmhouses, hardly applicable here. Contemporary magazine articles listed the Irwin house prominently when speaking of "The Trail of Japanese Influence in our Modern Amer-



4. Restored Plan of Main Floor of Irwin House, Pasadena (Sketch by author)

ican Architecture,"⁴³ or else outright called it a "Bungalow in Japanese Style" and "Japanesque Bungalow."⁴⁴ The numerous and relatively small rooms enclosed a paved court with pool and fountain in the center; a gallery, shaded by a trellis overhead, extended around three sides of the expanded upper level. The billiard room on the second floor, across one end of the court, was glazed on two sides and on part of a third, and opened onto a small roofed gallery adjoining the fan-shaped *porte-cochère*. The chamber next to it had a tall ceiling lighted by a clerestory above the gallery roof. The curved-walled living room terrace spotted with bay trees recalls the treatment of the bungalow on the Lincoln estate by Schweinfurth (Fig. 4). The living room was enlarged at a later date, and entrance steps were placed at the front of the projecting porch, the wall between the piers being removed for this alteration.

The Greene brothers and some of their prospective clients were pleased with the way the Irwin house turned out, and new commissions were given for other residences to be built along similar lines. Two were erected in the neighborhood during the next couple of years, these being numbers 2 and 4 Westmoreland Place. A photograph of the street front of number 2 was reproduced in the April 1909 issue of *Western Architect*.⁴⁵ The broad, low-pitched roof provided a third story over part of the house, and yet it was inscribed a bungalow in the magazine. The David B. Gamble house, two doors away, is only slightly larger; but, to my knowledge, neither it nor any of the other houses of similar magnitude and style has been termed a bungalow.⁴⁶ The plans of these later buildings were more flexible and open than that of the Irwin house.

The finest Greene and Greene bungalow of the next few years is the Charles Pratt house (1909) on Foothill Road at Ojai, a low, crescent-shaped timber construction, of which only a part is two-storied.⁴⁷ The interplay of angles and casually placed planes show the ingenuity of the architects (Fig. 13). They have achieved here a synthesis of house and landscaping perhaps unequaled elsewhere in America. The central room is a living hall, entered from a terrace of free form, several curved steps above the motor court.⁴⁸

A variation of the Greene and Greene house, with Swiss rather than Japanese detailing, was otherwise undifferentiated in construction and effect. The Swiss style was utilized extensively by several other California architects, one of the most creative being Arthur R. Kelly, architect of the C. L. Frost ranch house and the John T. Allen house, both dating from around 1910.⁴⁹ These two bungalows at Hollywood were built upon hill sites, the former having a wing turned at an irregular angle to coincide with the terrain, and the latter having the second floor uphill from the first. The rock used in terrace walls was excavated from the site. The Swiss style has been interpreted rather loosely, which places these examples in an entirely different category from that of the Burlingame châlet of earlier date (Fig. 3). The difference of interpretation is that between nineteenth and twentieth century attitudes. The affinity to the Japanese in the Kelly houses indicates the internationality of timber building in mountainous regions all over the world—in the Alps, Himalayas, and islands of Japan.

A second variation is represented by a bungalow on South Grand Avenue in Pasadena, locally attributed sometimes to Greene and Greene and at other times to Frank Lloyd Wright. The small house is unusual and attractive, consisting of a cubic form bound by exposed square timbers and capped by a projecting flat roof, and one little wonders that it has been ascribed to the well-known architects mentioned; but it was the work of a lesser builder, John C. Austin (Fig. 14). A picture of

43. By Henrietta P. Keith, *Craftsman*, XII, 4, July, 1907, pp. 449f.

44. *House Beautiful*, XXIX, 2, January, 1911, p. 49.

45. Reproduced as fig. 20 in the author's "Japanese Buildings in the United States Before 1900 . . .," facing p. 224.

46. Such as the R. R. Blacker house, 1177 Hillcrest Avenue, Pasadena, and the William R. Thorson house, 2307 Piedmont Avenue, Berkeley.

47. A rear perspective view of the Pratt house appears in *House Beautiful*, XXXVI, 1, June, 1914, p. 5.

48. Like the Gamble house, the Pratt house still contains much furniture designed and built by the Greene brothers.

49. Henry H. Saylor, *Bungalows, Their Design, Construction and Furnishing . . .*, Philadelphia, 1911, pp. 58-59, 82-83.

the bungalow in *House & Garden* (June 1914, p. 209) identifies the style of the house as Japanese. It was more evidently inspired by the reconstruction of an ancient house at Lycia, Asia Minor, illustrated in the *American Architect and Building News* a short while before the Pasadena house was built (Fig. 16).

Other southern California architects working in a similar vein include Albert R. Walker and John Terrell Vawter,⁵⁰ Sylvanus Marston (designer of St. Francis Court), Pasadena,⁵¹ Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey,⁵² George A. Clark and L. du P. Millar,⁵³ J. F. Kavanaugh,⁵⁴ and Arthur S. Heineman.⁵⁵ Amateur builders bitten by the craftsman bug produced a few notable bungalows, such as that of Frank Underhill near Santa Barbara,⁵⁶ and the A. J. Eddy house at Pasadena.⁵⁷

An overwhelming flood of literature on the bungalow was issued shortly after the turn of the century. Much of it was in the form of booklet catalogues of plans offered inexpensively as an agent for ordering sets of working drawings, which sold for five dollars upward. Many originated in California, especially in the Los Angeles vicinity. These were advertised in home and building magazines, and to them may be accounted the dissemination of the California bungalow throughout the country. As an example, a young professor at the University of Kentucky and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Ralph N. Maxson, were attracted by the illustration publicizing a portfolio of two dozen bungalow schemes conceived by F. G. Brown of Los Angeles, advertised in the May 1908 issue of *House Beautiful* (Fig. 15).⁵⁸ The portfolio sold for a dollar, which could be deducted later from the purchase price of plans. The Maxsons liked best the bungalow illustrated, design #18 in the portfolio, and proceeded to build this \$2,200 house in Transylvania Park, Lexington, near the University (Fig. 17).⁵⁹ The plan was reversed so that the porch would extend around the right instead of the left flank, and the living room, originally intended to span the whole front of the house (about 33 feet in length) was divided by a partition with sliding doors, making a small office at the fireplace end of the room, where the professor could interview students in temporary privacy. A dining room, connected to the pantry with kitchen and porch beyond, a stairhall in the center, and two chambers and bath also were on the first floor. Bedrooms were finished upstairs at a later date. This small house was unique in the community, where colonial bungalows were more fashionable. Its curving gables gave it some Japanese flavor. The side extension of the porch was subsequently removed to make way for a driveway. The architect stated that ten years' experience in the East enabled him "to prepare specifications and make structural details suitable for building these houses in cold as well as in warm climates," an important consideration in Kentucky, which gets more snow than New York City.

That the bungalow properly belonged to California was indicated in the F. G. Brown advertisement captioning the design as being "Direct from Bungalow Land." A Grand Rapids concern, following the trend, entitled its publication *California Bungalows: The Book of the Real Bungalow*.⁶⁰ Another, in Minneapolis, issuing *The Plan Shop Bungalow Book*, declared that the "designer is a Californian and knows the bungalow by heart."⁶¹ The following year the "Californian" moved on to Boston.⁶²

50. The author's "Japanese Buildings in the United States Before 1900 . . . , p. 224.

51. Saylor, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-25, 77, 130, 142.

52. *House Beautiful*, XXXVIII, 1, June, 1915, pp. 27-29; XXXIX, 4, March, 1916, pp. 101-103; XXXIX, 5, April, 1916, pp. 137-139.

53. *Architectural Record*, XXXV, 9, March, 1916, pp. 290-291; Saylor, *op.cit.*, pp. 57, 114-115, 145, 151.

54. *House Beautiful*, XXVIII, 4, September, 1910, p. 106.

55. *Ibid.*, XI, 12, November, 1916, pp. 338-339. *Western Architect*, XX, 8, August, 1914, n. p.

56. *Architectural Record*, XX, 4, October, 1906, pp. 296-

305. *Country Life in America*, XXVI, 1, May, 1914, pp. 44, 82; XXIX, 1, November, 1915, pp. 27-30; also pictured on cover of the September, 1914 (XXVI, 5) issue.

57. *Inland Architect*, XLVI, 4, May, 1906, pp. 57-60.

58. XXIII, 6, p. 50.

59. Photograph courtesy of the late Jessie L. (Mrs. Ralph N.) Maxson, who told the author about seeing the design in *House Beautiful*.

60. J. H. Daverman & Son, 1908.

61. Advertised in *House Beautiful*, XXXI, 6, May, 1912, p. xv.

62. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 2, January, 1913, p. iv.

A periodical devoted to the small house, and called *Bungalow Magazine*, came out monthly from March 1909 through March 1918, at first in Los Angeles and later (beginning 1914) in Seattle. The price rose from a dime to a quarter per copy at the time of editorial change.⁶³ All bungalow styles were given space. A plan similar to the flat-roofed bungalow in Pasadena was discussed in the February 1910 issue (pp. 340-341), and, as in *House & Garden*, identified as Japanese. One of the most appealing examples presented during the nine years of publication was in the April 1910 edition (Fig. 18). It was designed for a narrow lot at a street intersection, with the L-shaped house itself placed near the front inner corner, having a pergola flanking the side street and extending to the garage, a gate several bays below leading into the gardened area, where the planting centered on a circular motif including a pool with a lantern in the middle, adjoining an open summer house against the neighboring lot, which was masked by a thick screen of foliage. Here is an ideal integration of house and garden in a restricted area. The lines of the house recall somewhat those of Mr. Tudor's mid-nineteenth century cottage at Nahant (Fig. 5), making the bungalow seem to belong more to the eastern side of the continent than to the West. The house, called a "Wilson bungalow," after the editor, contains five rooms, the living room in the projecting wing terminated by the chimney, a porch in front and dining room behind under the broad block, with two bedrooms connected by a passageway opening into a bath, a kitchen and back porch, etc., forming a suite along the far side.⁶⁴ The dining terrace in the angle between living and dining rooms is an exquisite bit of design.

Magazines having little to do with architecture as such often encouraged bungalow living. The Curtis Publishing Company presented two of Frank Lloyd Wright's domestic creations in the *Ladies Home Journal* for February and June 1901. The first, the larger of the two, was a typical specimen of Wright's "prairie house" style, with low hipped roofs over a cruciform of unequal arm lengths. The later house had roofs extending into "Japanese" gables, that is, wide eaves pushed forward at the apex. The same motif was used on the Warren Hickox and neighboring B. Harley Bradley houses in Kankakee, Illinois, conceived at the same time as the Curtis Publishing Company projects (1900). The Hickox house, the smaller of the Kankakee pair, with its exposed light timbered walls, plastered between, thin raking roof planes, and predominance of horizontal lines, displays some indebtedness to the Japanese, though it remains an original composition (Fig. 19). The reception hall and service rooms are on the left side of the house, with living room beyond the chimney, a demi-octagonal music room in front and dining room of the same shape to the rear, with broad openings making the three units into a single large interior.⁶⁵ The Bradley house, next door, is a more complex mass, with a covered gallery leading to the kennels-stable-garage behind the house. The Kankakee River, which flows to the side and back of the Bradley house, provides at once a frame for the property and view from the houses.

Frank Lloyd Wright, a protégé of and successor to Louis Sullivan as leader of the Chicago School, made an inestimable contribution to the bungalow vogue. Other outstanding examples are the W. A. Glasner house (1905) in Glencoe, Illinois, with its attached octagons, one of which was to have been used as a "tea room" across a *passerelle* (not built because of lot size restrictions), and the Isabel Roberts house (1908) at River Forest, with high-ceilinged living room at the center of an "aeroplane" plan.⁶⁶

The clean-cut shapes and broad hipped roofs of Wright's bungalows known as prairie houses suggest influence from the work of an enigmatic British architect of the early nineteenth century, Joseph Michael Gandy, who, although he attempted to practice independently after 1800, made his best earnings producing renderings in the office of John Soane. Gandy published two books in

63. Original publisher, Henry L. Wilson; later editor, D. E. Hooker.

64. Plan illustrated in *Bungalow Magazine*, II, 2, April, 1910, p. 50.

65. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *In the Nature of Materials*, New York, 1942, fig. 54.

66. *Ibid.*, figs. 110-111, 154-156.

1805, *Designs for Cottages*, and *The Rural Architect*, in which were illustrated schemes for country houses, or rather dependencies, built close to the ground, with horizontal banks of windows and other elements in common with Wright's constructions of a hundred years later (Fig. 20). Gandy undoubtedly was influenced in the simple species of building he devised by plebeian Mediterranean housing of a type that survived with little change from Etruscan times, which he had examined in Italy during his sojourn there when a young man. Gandy's interest in the Orient may indicate a possible derivation from the East Indian bungalow: Oriental subjects appeared among compositions exhibited by him at the Royal Academy, and the divinity he professed to worship was "the Sacred Aum" of Hindustan.⁶⁷

One of the freshest innovations produced by Chicago School architects is the "Bungalow on the Point" or "Seashore Bungalow"—so labeled on the original plans⁶⁸—built by William Gray Purcell and George Grant Elmslie on the Crane estate at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, in 1911 (Fig. 24). The structure incorporates the central chimney and shingled walls of the traditional Cape Cod dwelling, but in other respects departs from the local precedent. The horizontal fenestration of the curved end of the living room overlooking the sea that surrounds Juniper Point on three sides may be compared with the corresponding feature on the Schweinfurth bungalow of 1895 (Fig. 4). A long, rectangular mass forming a background to the lower semicircular projection has the upper story cantilevered out at the ends and very long roof overhang, achieving a buoyant and flight-like quality. The total plan is cruciform, or "aeroplane." This plan well may have been suggested to the Chicago School by the Hōō-den, or Phoenix Villa, the Japanese pavilion in the form of a bird at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, spoken of earlier.⁶⁹ William Gray Purcell called the Bungalow on the Point "the first building East of New York—and with a few exceptions the first building East of Chicago to be designed in indigenous, organic American form."⁷⁰

The bungalow considered closest to an indigenous type of American construction was the rustic one, having walls made of logs laid horizontally. First introduced into this country by the Swedes settling along the Delaware River during the middle of the seventeenth century, the log house was used by German, Irish, and finally by the English as a convenient, practical, and comfortable means of frontier housing. By the end of the nineteenth century the log cabin was looked upon, erroneously, as the earliest colonial habitation,⁷¹ and as such was given a niche in the bungalow movement, especially in mountainous settings. D. V. Stroop built a number of log bungalows for clients in the vicinity of White Bluffs, Tennessee. The Charles Basham house was one of these intended only for summer use. Walls were of spruce logs, retaining the bark outside, and hand-scraped inside; some of the rooms were surfaced with plaster. The doors and roof shingles were of cedar (Fig. 22). The square plan included a porch across the entire front and a recessed porch at the back flanked by a pantry and bath.⁷² A long transverse dining and living hall (18' x 28') occupied the center of the building, with kitchen and three bedrooms surrounding it, and a large dormitory above lighted by dormers at front and back. This log bungalow differs from early log cabins in having a high basement, a more complex arrangement, and a hipped roof with curved, upturned eaves. The last, at least, is a characteristic of Far Eastern architecture, the Basham bungalow bearing a resemblance to the 1200-year-old log Shōsōin, famed art treasure house of the Tōdai-ji (temple) at Nara, Japan.⁷³

67. John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays on Architecture*, New York, 1948, pp. 131, 116.

68. In the possession of the present owner, Mr. Gerard Swope. Facsimiles of the plans have been published in *the Western Architect*, XIX, 1, January, 1913, n. p.; and in *Pencil Points*, XXII, 9, September, 1941, p. 577.

69. The author's "Japanese Buildings . . .," pp. 220-222.

70. Letter from the architect to Mrs. Dorothy Norman, June 24, 1949. For further reading on the Chicago group

see: Talbot F. Hamlin, "George Grant Elmslie and the Chicago Scene," *Pencil Points*, XXII, 9, September, 1941, pp. 575-586.

71. Harold Robert Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth*, Cambridge, 1939.

72. William Phillips Comstock, *Bungalows, Camps and Mountain Houses*, New York, 1908, p. 110 (plan).

73. Illustrated: Arthur Drexler, *The Architecture of Japan*, New York, 1955, pp. 84-85.

Examples of the American bungalow that have been discussed above have hardly exceeded the first thirty-year period of the bungalow regime, or about half of its vital life's span. The bungalow had reached its zenith as an artistic form before the First World War, and did not improve afterwards. The boom following the war tended, if anything, to lower building standards, reducing the bungalow from an unassuming creative expression to an insignificant and cheap means of housing. During its heyday the bungalow completely captivated and held the public attention. Not everybody, of course, was in sympathy with the bungalow idea. Some writers were amused by or even hostile to it. An article entitled "The Rampant Craze for the Bungle-oh," in *Country Life in America*, poked fun at the fashionable contemporary home.⁷⁴ Another writer registered a reflective mood in versification, calling his opus the "Bungal-Ode." One of his stanzas runs:

For I oft get bungalowlonely
In the mingled human drove,
And I long for bungaloafing
 In some bungalowtus grove,
In a cooling bung' location
 Where no troubling trails intrude,
'Neath some bungalowly rooftree
 In east bungalongitude.⁷⁵

Interest in southeast Asia was a sustaining factor throughout the bungalow era. Sometimes it overstepped its bounds and entered the realm of false attribution, as in the case of "An East Indian Bungalow" built on Buckingham Way near Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York. The architect's perspective rendering for the bungalow was reproduced, prior to its construction, in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in 1902, and the accompanying article characterized the house as one of the most original ever conceived in America, being "in the form of an East India bungalow as closely as the climatic conditions will allow"—a familiar label. The architect's drawing, one notes, despite descriptive claims to the contrary, is entirely Japanese in style (Fig. 21). The house was designed by Petit (John J.) and Green (James C.) for Dean Alvord, a New York investor, who anticipated that the bungalow would "prove to be a good seller." As built, the Alvord house contained more usable space than was indicated by the published sketch; the roof between floor levels was exchanged for an encircling balcony, and the main gables were pushed out flush with the end walls of the house, while the fenestration in the gables was supplemented by dormers on either side of the sloping roof (Fig. 23). To assure authenticity of finish in Japanese style the work was entrusted to three Japanese artisans, Saburo Arai (contractor), Shunsi Ishikawa (decorator), and Chogoro Sugai (gardener).⁷⁶ A Japanese gateway and several lanterns embellished the garden on the south side of the house. The residence recently was redecorated and furnished largely with Grand Rapids Chinese-style pieces. Its originally rich exterior colors are now obliterated by a battleship gray.

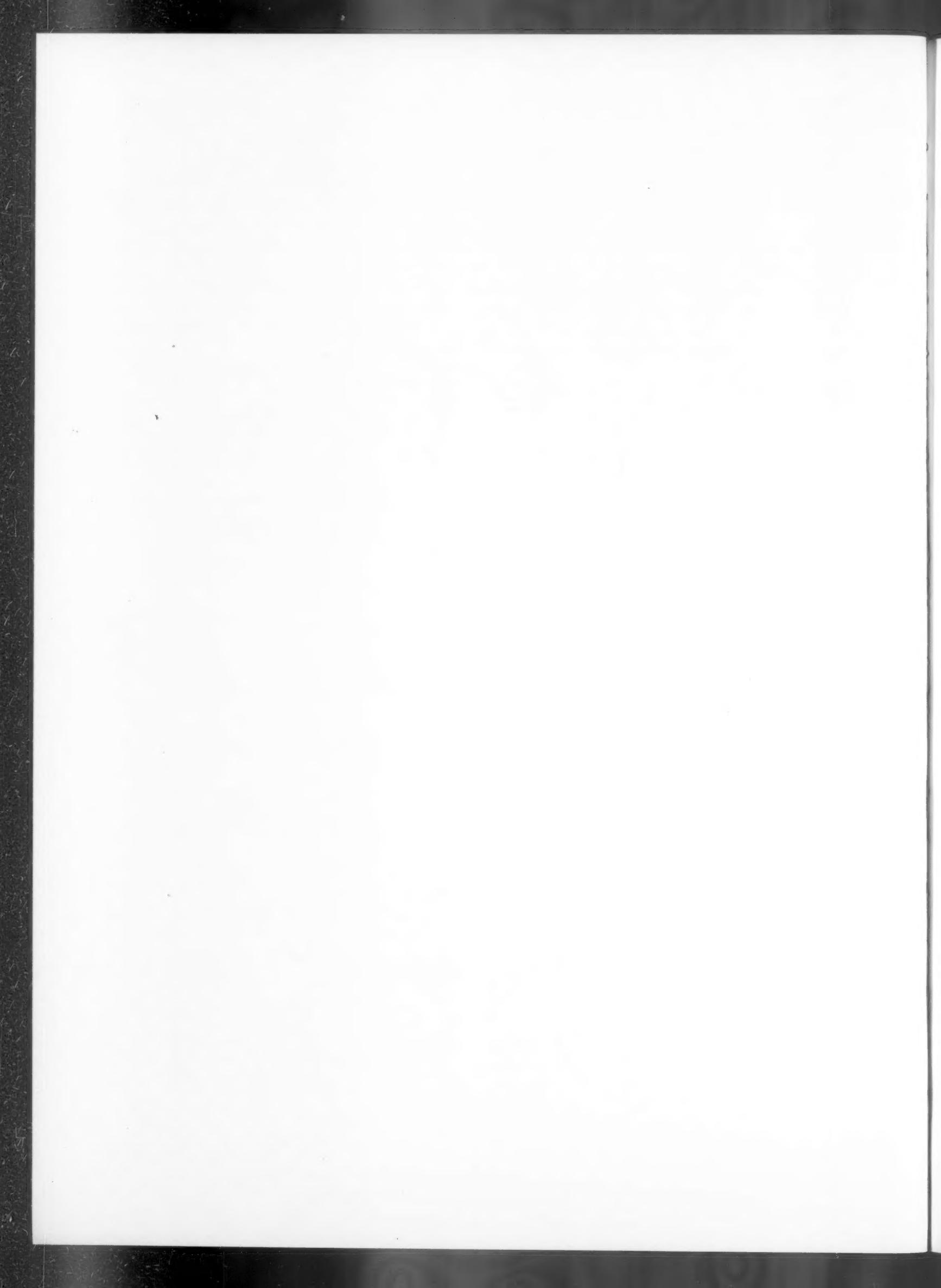
The term "bungalow" stood for the best and worst—and much that was in between—in American private housing during the last two decades of the nineteenth and first quarter or so of the twentieth centuries. Its examples range from the most imitative, confused and sentimental, to the freshest, clearest, and most rational of designs. That the bungalow was a low, small house lay in the claims for it more than in application to buildings, as we have seen. Though it grew out of the American cottage tradition, the bungalow vogue made new and definite contributions to the evolution of home planning in the direction of informality and unpretentiousness, use of common, natural

74. By L. D. Thomson, XXII, 6, July 15, 1912, pp. 20-21. This article is illustrated with photographs of specimens showing exotic influences, and a F. L. Wright banded house.

75. Burgess Johnson, from *Good Housekeeping*; Saylor, *op.cit.*, p. 3.
76. *Country Life in America*, IV, 3, July, 1903, p. 169.

materials, integration of house and landscape setting, simplification of design that became closely allied to practical requirements, and concentration on livability. The bungalow movement differed from earlier revivals in the indefiniteness of its source of inspiration, which allowed the architect's imagination free play, thereby sanctioning originality in a roundabout way. The American house during the bungalow period became lighter in construction, more flexible and open of plan, and less fussy in its furnishings. These were all good qualities when held under control, and resulted in sloppiness when they got out of hand. A large percentage of contemporary Americans were brought up and still dwell in bungalows, and many others have built virtual bungalows recently, though they are called by other names. The bungalow, therefore, still is a factor in American life, through its role in American housing; and it may be said to form, together with the skyscraper, one of the characteristic building types of democratic America.

NEW YORK CITY



NOTES

NICCOLO PISANO AND THE SILVER ALTAR AT PISTOIA

CLARENCE KENNEDY

The fame of the great silver altar at Pistoia has long been widely diffused because of Dante's reference to it in Canto 24 of his *Divina Commedia*,¹ where, with the event still fresh in his mind, he recalls the disastrous prank of Vanni Fucci and his drunken friends who broke into the "sagrestia degli be' eredi," entered the chapel itself from the rear, smashed or damaged a part of the silver on the altar, and after they had left, realizing that in their inebriated state they were still carrying away parts of the damaged altar, hid them in the house of an innocent lawyer who was subsequently charged with the theft and paid for it with his life.

This was in 1292 or in January of 1293. At that time the altar of San Jacopo and its retable was not by any means as elaborate or as rich in sculpture as we see it today, for its present state not only embodies the replacements that were made at that time, but it represents an accumulation of sculptures that were added to enrich it at intervals over more than a hundred and fifty years after the time of the theft, through periods of good taste and of bad. It should be interesting, therefore, to try to reconstruct a mental picture of the altar and its retable as it was at the time when it was damaged.

The core of the altar itself was the original, primitive, stone coffer that had been prepared to receive the relic when it was brought from Compostella in Spain in 1145. In the preceding year the Bishop Atto of Pistoia, a very energetic man, had taken advantage of the presence in Compostella of Don Ranieri, a Pistoian, to press his request for a relic of the Saint. Don Ranieri had received his doctorate in Paris, had studied in Winton, England, and was at this time a canon and master of letters at Compostella, where he taught the younger clergy. The bishop's motive was clear, for Pistoia was on one of the main pilgrimage roads leading to Rome and the Holy Land, and St. James, with his staff and his wallet, was the pilgrims' saint. There was already in Pistoia a chapel dedicated to St. James, in the Castellare, the oldest section of the city, but it possessed no relic, and barely figures in the later history of the cult. The archbishop of Compostella, Didacus, after some persuasion, agreed to the proposal, provided that he could be assured that in honor of the relic twenty-two lamps would be kept constantly burning in the chapel where it should be placed.² We may recognize a distant recollection of these twenty-two lamps in the seventeen oil lamps hung from the ceiling in the restricted space within the Temple which is the background for the scene of the Presentation on the altar

frontal of 1316 (Fig.1). In the same vague way, the representation of the altar itself in this relief may recall the primitive form of that first altar of San Jacopo. It was surely, as here, relatively narrow, closer to the form of altars of earlier times than to the altar of San Jacopo as we see it now. We have no reason to believe that, at this stage, it had any sculptural decoration. Neither is there any evidence that, as yet, the "chapel" was separated from the church by an enclosure. When, in the very first year of its existence, the miracles wrought by the relic attracted wide attention and crowds made pilgrimages to the shrine, it must have been an embarrassment that there was no suitable place for them to stand—they would certainly have tended to block the door to the south aisle and would even have encumbered the main entrance to the church. The first preserved reference to iron grilles that separated the chapel from the rest of the church dates from 1313.³ Grooves in the piers of the south aisle, supporting the clerestory, still show where these were erected.

The two walls of the chapel were embellished with color at a relatively early time. The work was done in 1265 and 1269 by the Florentine painter, Coppo di Marcovaldo,⁴ who seems to have made his home in Pistoia following his imprisonment by the Sienese after the battle of Montaperti. The payments, as recorded, are so small that we can hardly consider the project as concerned with anything more than decorative patterns to enliven the surroundings with color.

The most important contribution to the enrichment of the service on the altar in this early period, contemporary with the beginning of the decoration of the walls, was ordered from the Sienese goldsmith, Maestro Pace di Valentino. Before coming to Pistoia, he had, in March 1256, made a seal with which the Signori del Divieto in Siena sealed their papers; in December of 1257 he had been paid for seals with which the *pane venale* was stamped by order of the *Comune*; in 1264, still in Siena, he received payment for a repair to the silver boss of elaborate design, weighing more than sixty pounds, that was a part of the Carroccio which had undoubtedly been injured in the Battle of Montaperti. Like the Florentines we have already met, he had probably left his native city with his two assistants because of his political sympathies. Now, in 1265, with four assistants, two of them at least Sienese, he was engaged by the *Opera* of San Jacopo to make an elaborate silver book-cover, a *testavangelo*, and a chalice for use on the altar.⁵ The project was sufficient to make it worth his while to rent a shop in Pistoia on the street where the goldsmiths worked. It is an interesting comment on the role of the painter in this period that when the inside of the two covers of the *testavangelo* were ready for gilding, Coppo di Marcovaldo, who at

1. *Inferno*, xxiv, 11. (lines) 97ff.

2. Jacopo Maria Fioravanti, *Memorie storiche della città di Pistoia*, Lucca, 1758, p. 180.

3. Gaetano Beani, *Memorie storiche di S. Jacopo apostolo*

il Maggiore, Pistoia, 1885, p. 83

4. Peleo Bacci, *Documenti toscani per la storia dell'Arte*, II, Florence, 1912, p. 17 and doc. II.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 1910, p. 46.

this time was painting in the chapel, is called upon to supply the goldleaf and to do the work. In July the chief assistant of Pacino, a Sienese, received 18 lire of good Pisan money for acquiring one hundred emeralds to be put on the chalice. Without its cover and not counting the gems, the chalice weighed 12 Pistoian pounds, 4 ounces.

The *testavangelo*, as completed, consisted of two slabs of silver, gilded, joined in the middle by hinges and with four large ribbons. On the outside of the two slabs were affixed the figures in beaten silver, in high relief—one a crucifix; the other a *Majestà*. The figures were hollow, so that under them there had to be an *anima*, or form, to give a substantial backing to the relief. Going all around, as a kind of frame, were 32 emeralds. The smaller jewels for the chalice and the *testavangelo* numbered 170 pearls, 250 small garnets (red for Christ's blood), 120 small turquoises, 44 emeralds, 111 topaz, amethysts, and artificial stones—in all 695 pieces! The large jewels were four sapphires, four turquoises, three garnets, one jacinth, and one *camaino*, 13 in all. The total, then, comes to 708.

To further emphasize the riches of the treasure of San Jacopo we have only to note that at this same time Maestro Pace made another, smaller, chalice, plated with gold and ornamented with pearls "at the time when he made the paten" (the flat, dish-like cover used to hold the wafer) for the big chalice, as well as repairing and gilding one that had been kept in the treasury.

It is not surprising, as we have reviewed the splendid character of the new service that had been made for use on the altar of San Jacopo, that the altar itself, with its primitive form and the lack of room on its narrow top, must have seemed already antiquated. This concern is already inherent in the account that is recorded of an official report presented at a meeting of the general council of the city of Pistoia on November 16, 1272.⁶ On that Wednesday, Jacopo di Meliore and Strinato di Rainerio, who were the *operai* of San Jacopo for that year, asked to be freed, without censure, from an obligation, duly entered in the books earlier in the year, which they could not carry out—namely from the paragraph which began, "That the incoming *operai* of San Jacopo be held to have the altar of St. James made *de novo*, of white and black marbles, with carving, since the said *operai* cannot have the aforesaid altar made within their term because they do not have the money for having the work done or for having the above recorded altar done over." They also asked to be excused from the clause commencing, "That the *operai* of San Jacopo be held to purchase six columns," since the said columns were not to be found for sale. Their request was granted. We may ourselves note that a Meliore di Jacopo (almost certainly either the father or the son of the *operaio*, judging from the manner that the Italians had of repeating Christian names

within the family) had been, on June 7, 1265, a witness to the payment to a Florentine gem merchant of the sum the merchant had spent on purchasing gems for the great chalice.

Clearly, then, there had been a project for a new altar although no published transcript of the relevant document has yet been made. If we now compare the dates 1272, July 11, and 1273, July 10, we may assume that this commitment had been made at the July meeting a year previous to the commission which Bacci transcribed, allowing for the fact that the Council met on the same day of the week in each case. We do not know whether or not the project as it is described followed a design already proposed by Niccolo Pisano.

The original altar had been built even before the arrival of the relic for which negotiations had been in progress. We have surmised it was narrow and of simple form. By now, however, it was associated with the history of the miracles which the relic had worked, and had, itself, a particular sanctity. Therefore, what they proposed to do was enlarge it, not by demolishing the existing structure, but by adding to it.

This is clear from the terms of the new contract on which the name of Niccolo Pisano first appears.⁷ Six channeled columns were to be placed around it, of pure white marble from Carrara—three in front and three in back, i.e., one at each corner and one in the middle of both front and back—these were already in the 1272 commitment. Between them were to go, in all, six marble slabs—one at each end, and two both front and back. According to the plan as voted in 1272 these were to have been of black and white marble, with carving. One is reminded of the panels of the font in the Baptistry at Pisa, made by Guido da Como in 1246, or the four square panels in Siena published by Swarzenski as "school of Niccolo Pisano."⁸

In the contract authorized in 1273 only white marble is called for and nothing is said about carving. It is difficult to judge whether the altar, as built, was carved or not. The price, 100 ordinary Pisan pounds, is a fairly good price, such as is paid to a sculptor ("intalliator seu sculptor"), not a contractor, but the marble had to be carted overland to Pistoia from the quarries in Carrara, and Niccolo was to assume all the expenses except the minor ones of lime and lead and iron to join the stones. The addition of the columns and the slabs of marble between them would necessitate enlarging the slab which formed the top of the altar itself, and, in fact, the contract specifies, not a new top, but the re-edging of the old altar top by clamping against it new pieces forming a border which is described as ornamented with moldings, all in the same white marble as the rest.

Had Niccolo Pisano been already in their minds when the somewhat more ambitious plans were formulated the year before? It seems likely. If, for reasons of economy, that relatively simple project had now been reduced in scope, it is hard to see why they would have

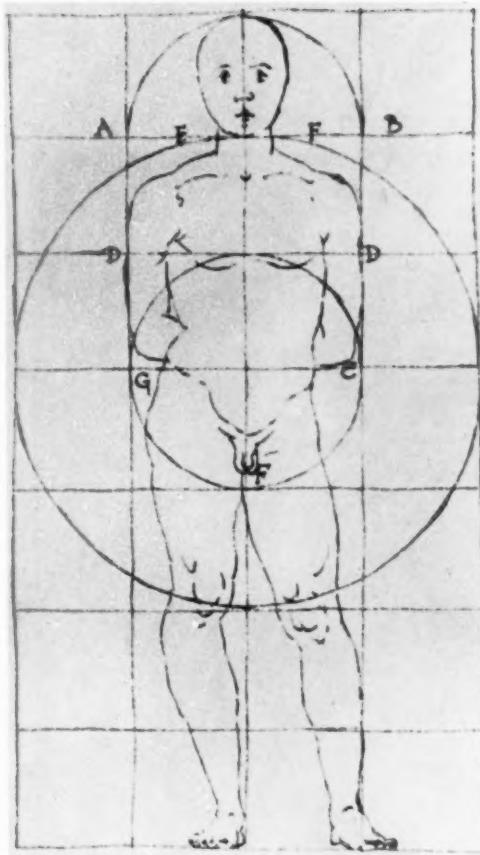
6. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 84f.

7. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 85-87 and doc. II.

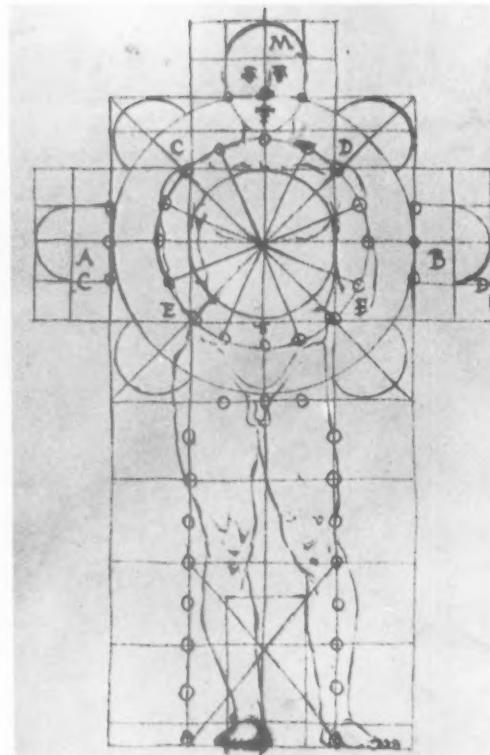
8. Georg Swarzenski, *Nicola Pisano*, Frankfurt on the Main, 1926, p. 127.



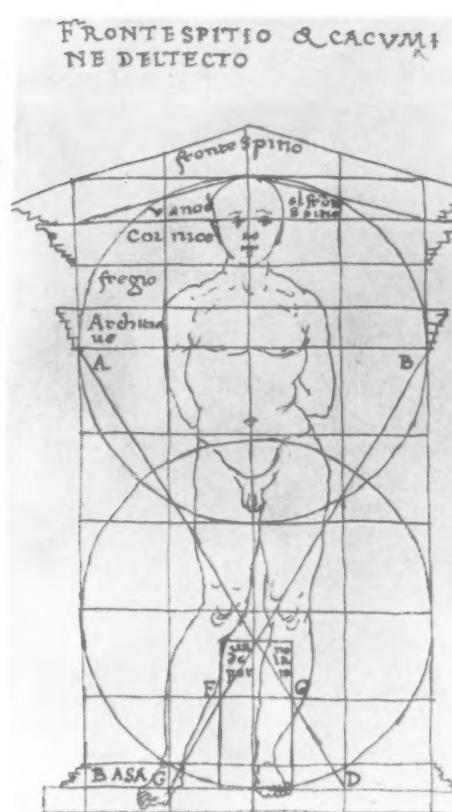
1. Niccolò Pisano, *Presentation*, altar frontal from Pistoia, 1316
Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)



1. Fol. 42v

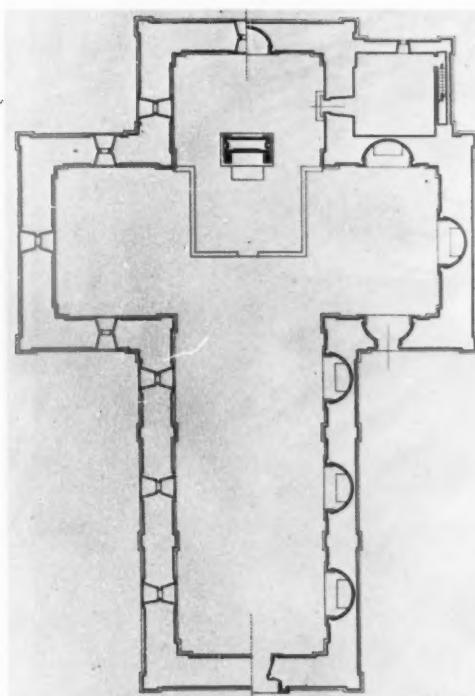


2. Fol. 42v

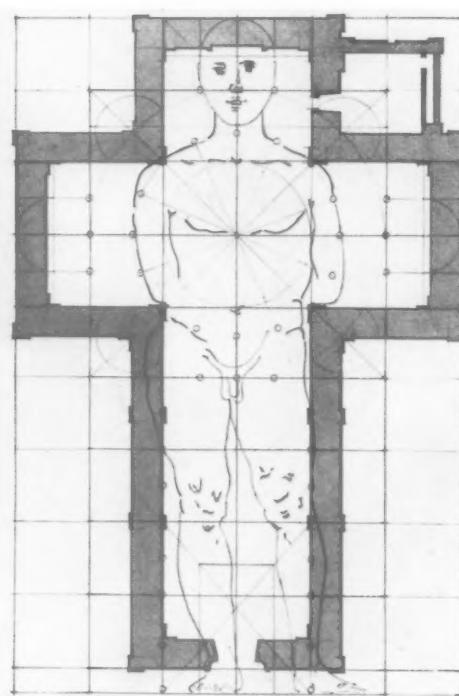


3. Fol. 39v

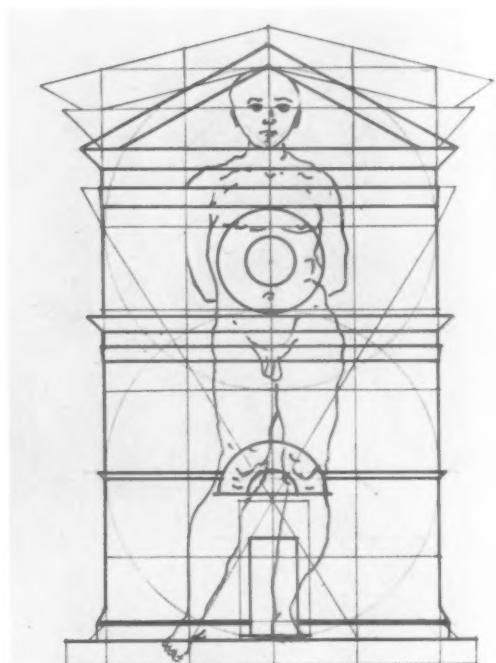
1-3. Francesco di Giorgio, *Trattato*. Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS II.I.141



4. S. M. delle Grazie, Calcinaia near Cortona, architect, Francesco di Giorgio. Plan (from Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio Architetto*, III, pl. LVI)



5. Fig. 2 superimposed on Fig. 4
(author's drawing)



6. Fig. 3 superimposed on façade elevation
of S. M. delle Grazie, Calcinaia
(author's drawing)

applied to so distinguished a sculptor from Pisa. After all, in 1272, Maestro Buono, who had done some simple work for the altar of the Madonna on the opposite side of the church, was still around.

On July 10, 1273, when Messagino Connossientis and Ranuccio Bonajunte were the new *operai*, the contract was signed with Niccolo Pisano,⁹ before Pipino the Imperial notary, in the choir of the cathedral, in the presence of the prior and a canon of San Giovanni, the church for which, three years before, Fra Guglielmo had made a pulpit. Assisting the prior was the same priest, Grandebene, who had witnessed various transactions in 1265 in connection with the work of Pacino on the great chalice and the *testavangelo*. He was now chaplain of San Jacopo.

In October are recorded the expenses for lime that was on hand and again for making lime by burning a piece of marble furnished by the *Opera*.

However short we may think the time, by November 13 of that same year "Magister Niccola quondam Petri, de Cappella sancti Blasii Pisarum, tagliatore e scultore di pietre e marmi" must have finished his work, for, in accordance with the terms of the contract, he is then paid one hundred ordinary Pisan lire, "for fixing over or rather repairing the altar," to which was added a smaller amount, 6 soldi, 6 denari, for iron and lead which he supplied beyond his obligation. The transaction took place in the chapel itself, with a bell-founder and a messenger of the *Opera*, Tedesco Magalocci, as two of four witnesses.

Finally in December we have records of the payments to two different iron workers, one for the iron ties which secured the pieced-out stonework of the altar (33 soldi, 10 denari) and the other, 3 soldi, for simple tenons.¹⁰

It is customary to minimize the importance of Niccolo Pisano's work on the altar of San Jacopo. The theory often advanced is that he did not finish it (a mistake inherited from a misinterpretation of the evidence in the past) or that what he did was merely a question of repairs (a wrong emphasis, considering the nature of the work he actually completed) or, as Tosca put it, that "it is reasonable to suppose that the master often gave only the design for his works and that they were carried out by others under his direction, as in the case of the altar which, in 1273 he undertook to repair ('riattare') for the cathedral of Pistoia." It does not seem to me that the facts bear this out. It is not as though Niccolo were at that time a resident of Pistoia, or doing some important work there; he had to come from a distance for this specific purpose although the work was finished in a relatively short time. He was present in person both to make the contract and to receive payment, although it had been specified

in the contract that payment could be made to an agent. Moreover, any work on the altar of San Jacopo was not something that even a man of his importance could regard lightly. What he was asked to do was intended to change its appearance completely and to make it compatible with the place that the altar already held in the devotion of the people of the city—then very important as a banking center. The expense involved was large enough so that the *operai* of 1272 did not find means to provide for it—their successors were evidently more resourceful and met the expenses promptly. Perhaps the explanation lies with the bishop, Guidaloste Vergiolesi, a man of vigor and power.

It is true that the cost of the work, one hundred lire, is given in terms of common Pisan currency so that it is not as much as it sounds. Calculated by the rate for the year 1270, which we know in terms of the Sienese florin, one hundred "small" Pisan lire would still be over sixty gold florins—a considerable sum at that time. Master Buono, whose work as a mason we have mentioned, in the latest expense account I could check, was getting for himself and a workman four soldi a day—at that rate it would take the two of them, master and manual laborer, a year and eight months to make what Niccolo was paid for four months' work. Why, then, should we minimize its importance?

It is hard to discover what became of Niccolo Pisano's altar. Presumably, again, it was only added to, i.e., covered up, in 1314 when the silver altar frontal was made, and still later, when the ends were added. There is, in fact, evidence for this in the later documents. Why, then, when these reliefs were removed and the altar was uncovered, when everything was taken to the chapel of San Rocco in 1787, did not the altar emerge from under them? It must be to this period that we should give the blame that attaches to the loss of all but the description derived from the documents of a significant work of a major master.

SMITH COLLEGE

THE ARCHITECTURAL THEORY OF FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO*

HENRY MILLON

"... questa porzione sarà modulo a tutto l'edificio."

Francesco di Giorgio (1439-1501) is unique among fifteenth century architectural theorists for having recorded the mathematical procedures he used in designing a building. His writings contain detailed descriptions of methods for determining plans, elevations, and volumes.¹ Francesco's advocacy of a modular system

in the spring of 1956. I am deeply indebted to Professor Wittkower for the basic idea as here expressed and to Professor John Coolidge for his valuable criticisms and sustained interest.

1. Francesco's *Trattato di architettura civile e militare* (printed from MS II.I.141 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence) was published as part of the military history of

9. Peleo Bacci, *Documenti toscani per la storia dell'Arte*, 1, Florence, 1910, pp. 85-87, doc. 2.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 88, doc. 3.

* This article is the result of an investigation begun under Professor Rudolf Wittkower at Harvard University in the summer of 1954 in a seminar on Renaissance Architectural Theory. It was delivered as a paper at the Frick Symposium

which orders the entire building is symptomatic of the age, but the century never produced another statement of its modular principles as overt and unambiguous. Neither Alberti nor Filarete gave any detailed concrete information about good proportions or the use of modules although they clearly imply that both the module and good proportions are necessary to architecture.²

All fifteenth century architectural theorists spoke of proportions in terms of mathematics or in terms of the human body, which may mean there were understood methods that architects employed when designing, but no attempt to find such schemes precisely applicable to fifteenth century buildings has been successful. An examination of Francesco di Giorgio's theoretical writings may help to explain the reason since it is possible to define the relationship between his theory and his architectural practice.

I

Francesco describes several methods of obtaining modules and proportions,³ but the most interesting is the anthropomorphically derived modular grid in which the proportions of the human body are used to determine a temple plan (Figs. 1, 2).⁴ The head or the face is the fundamental unit and the divided body indicates the location of the major features in the plan of the building. Proportions of a façade are also derived from the human body (Fig. 3).⁵ Intersecting circles are superimposed on a grid generated by using the height of the head as the module.

Francesco devotes an entire chapter to the derivation of the proportions of temples from those of a man which he illustrates with two examples. The seriousness of his intentions can be seen in the modest statement which prefaces this section. ". . . finding many varied opinions exist about this body I have determined something

Italy by Carlo Promis in Turin in 1841 simultaneously with an extract that contained the *Vita di Francesco di Giorgio Martini*, the *Trattato*, and the *Atlas*, but not the military history. Page numbers used here are from the shorter version.

2. Alberti makes his recommendations for proportions and ratios in a very matter-of-fact way. He suggests that the height to width ratio of a door be 2:1 or the square root of 2:1 (L. B. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, Bartoli translation, Leoni edition, London, 1755, Bk. I, Ch. xii), or that in a room "if the length be five times the breadth, make the height the same as where it is four times, only with the addition of one sixth part of that height" (ix, iii). The implication of a modular system is explicit in the demand for "regularity . . . size and situation equality . . ." (ix, viii). Further evidence of a similar nature can be found in vi, ii; ix, ix.

3. For Francesco, modules seem to be units of measure large enough to be used for the basic ordering of a building. Modules are obtained in three different ways. By the first, or arithmetical method (*Trattato*, Bk. II, Ch. 2, p. 39), a story is divided vertically into a number of equal divisions in which cornices, string courses, windows, and doors are allotted a predetermined number of parts. The method involves only an arithmetical proportional division. The second, or geometrical method, found in both the second and fourth books, uses a construction to find a unit for a modular grid (*Trattato*, II, 9, pp. 59, 60; IV, 3, pp. 106-108). The constructions are of two different types. One type, used to determine the proportions

which I will demonstrate briefly."⁶ The two drawings (Figs. 1, 2) represent two different ways of dividing the human body. One system is the seven-head height, the other, the nine-and-a-third-face height. The seven module division (Fig. 1) produces a longitudinal church plan with a dome diameter equal to the width of the church. A double module gives the diameter of the apse. In a more detailed explanation of the nine-and-a-third-module division (Fig. 2), Francesco notes that a circle touching the nose and bottom of the torso "... will give the width of the temple," and the distance from the nose "... to the crown of the head . . . will give the diameter of the hemicycles" which surround the domed area.⁷ In a like manner the location of the elements of the plan are outlined according to the anthropomorphic concept.

The two methods represent different and, therefore, flexible canons of proportion since a comparative examination shows relative parts of the body to be unequal. For example, if we assume the body to be 5' 10" tall, the head in the seven-part division would be ten inches. This same body in the nine-and-a-third-part breakdown would have a head longer by 1 1/4 inches, roughly the distance from the lips to the nose—a significant change of proportion in any head! It is the system and not the body that determines the proportions. Francesco, like Procrustes, stretches or amputates (note the feet of the nine-and-a-third division) the human figure to conform to his abstractly conceived bed of modules.⁸ Is not this method merely a sophisticated combination of mediaeval geometry with Renaissance arithmetic, adapting the prevailing geometrical method so ably illustrated in Villard de Honnecourt's sketchbook?

The anthropomorphic approach is also used to determine the proportions and articulation of a façade (Fig. 3).⁹ Francesco's drawing of the façade is accompanied

of a room, utilizes two perfect figures (a circle inscribed in a square), and determines a module that is a portion of the radius which is roughly commensurable with the side of the square. This type of construction is also used in the often reproduced drawing of a façade-section for a domed building. The other type of construction utilizes the diagonal of the square (square root of 2) and the diagonal of the double square (square root of 5) to establish an approximate relation between the diagonals and the side of the square. The drawings are attempts to find by a simple mediaeval geometrical construction a non-empirical Renaissance module which may be used arithmetically to approximate ratios and proportions which are incommensurable. The result is a measuring unit of considerable practical value, for it avoids the problem of the relation of the length of a diagonal to the side of a square or the length of the radius of an inscribed circle to the side of the square.

4. *Trattato*, IV, 4, pp. 109-111.

5. *Trattato*, IV, 1, p. 101.

6. *Trattato*, IV, 4, pp. 109-111.

7. *Trattato*, p. 110.

8. The anthropomorphic view is employed not only in plan but in the design of entablatures (Biblioteca Nazionale, ms II.1.141, fol. 38v), column capitals (*ibid.*, fol. 34v), and columns (*ibid.*, II.1.141, fols. 32v, 33r).

9. *Trattato*, IV, 1, contains the textual matter relating to this drawing but Promis does not reproduce the drawing,

by specific recommendations for determining proportions, by what Francesco calls "una colonna imaginata" or human figure applied to the wall.¹⁰ Illustrating a "proportional and geometrical demonstration," Francesco argues that the relative measurements of a façade for a temple that is either longitudinal or central can be determined by dividing the human body into seven equal parts with the head serving as the measuring unit. The base is given a width of four units. The height of the door is determined by the crossing of the two diagonals, and where the diagonals intersect the next to last grid line "will be the . . . width of the door." Apparently the inscribed circles are useful only in determining the height of the base, which is established by the intersection of the diagonals and the lower circle.¹¹ Half-unit divisions indicate the location of architrave, frieze, and cornice. One half-unit is arbitrarily added to the summit "because the head is something superior."¹² This deviation is useful for it gives the rise of the pediment. Even though it is only diagrammatic, this drawing describes the major features of a façade rather completely.

II

The chief problems resident in the application of a theoretical diagram to an actual building are concerned with those matters that are usually left unstated in diagram. For example, there is usually no indication of either wall thickness or wall placement in a theoreti-

cal sketch. Should the wall be placed on the outside or on the inside of the grid line? Is a combination of these two indicated for different situations? How thick should the wall be? To what extent is this determined by what the architects thought was structural necessity, i.e., the supposed compressive strength of masonry, the forces at work on the masonry, the size of the building, and to what extent by geometrical calculation?

Fortunately, there are in Francesco's manuscripts a few examples of plans that contain grid lines and also show wall thicknesses.¹³ In several cases the wall is placed with its inside face on the grid line with pilasters projecting from the wall on the opposite side of the grid line.¹⁴ Columns are usually placed on the grid line or centered on the intersection of two lines, as they are on the nine-and-a-third-module height plan.¹⁵ Unfortunately, there is no such drawing extant to aid in the determination of wall thickness or structural nature of a façade which would enable us to relate it to an actual project.

Since the buildings designed in Francesco's *Trattato* are of a different size from those he actually constructed,¹⁶ some difficulty may be expected in the direct transferal of his theoretical proportions to his extant work. Also, information concerning the attributions of buildings to Francesco di Giorgio and what part he played in them is still inexact.¹⁷ The one building that is attributable to Francesco with some degree of certainty is the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Calcinaio, near Cortona.¹⁸

and thus to determine within certain limits the absolute size of any example.

17. Just what Francesco actually constructed remains somewhat mysterious. There is immense difference of opinion in distinguishing his own work from that done after his designs. A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte Italiana*, VIII, 1, pp. 737-883) would ascribe some thirty buildings or parts of buildings to Francesco, while A. Weller (*Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1501*, Chicago, 1943, pp. 199-210) lists only six. For a fairly complete bibliography on Francesco's architecture see Sections A, B, and E of bibliography in Weller, *op.cit.*, pp. 405ff., or the bibliography in the handsome monograph by Roberto Papini, *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Florence, 1946, II, pp. 267-275. Publications which appeared after Papini's book that should be noted include Giovanni Canestrini, *Arte militare meccanica medievale*, Milan, 1945 (?); Mario Salmi, *Piero della Francesca e il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, Florence, 1945; and Mario Salmi, *Disegni di Francesco di Giorgio nella Collezione Chigi Saracini*, Siena, 1947.

18. The documents that pertain to the church have been assembled in Appendix II of Weller, *op.cit.*, pp. 352-354. The decision to build the votive church in Calcinaio came soon after Easter in 1484 when there were evidences of some miraculous happenings. On July 1, 1484, Francesco, who was in Gubbio working for the Duke of Urbino, was paid a certain sum for a drawing and model of the church. In April of the following year Francesco was in Cortona and on the eighth of the month received payment as the designer of the church. Another document mentions Francesco as still in Cortona on April 30, 1485. The church was dedicated in June 1485 and the long account which is preserved in the Cortona archives mentions Francesco by name. What may be a drawing of a church of a similar nature can be found in the Codex Saluzziano, fol. 14r, and in the Codex Laurenziano-Ashburnham 361 in the Laurentian Library in Florence on fol. 12v. Francesco died in 1501 and left the building unfinished. The work

which appears in Bibl. Naz., *op.cit.*, fol. 39v. A reproduction may be found in Stegmann and Geymüller, *Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*, XI, 3, p. 19. A drawing of a similar nature though less geometrical, and probably earlier, can be found in the Codex Saluzziano, Turin, Library of the Duke of Genoa, MS 148, fol. 21v.

10. *Trattato*, p. 101.

11. Francesco states (*loc.cit.*) that the base height is determined by the intersection of the diagonals and the circles. However, the drawing in the Biblioteca Nazionale, *op.cit.*, here reproduced, shows the base height determined by the intersection of the circle and the interior vertical grid lines. This is probably an error of the copyist and speaks strongly against Francesco as the author of the drawing. It is unusual that the major intersections of the two circles or the intersections of the circles and the diagonals in the middle region do not establish any significant point. The upper circle serves no function at all.

12. *loc.cit.*

13. For example, in the Codex Saluzziano, Biblioteca Reale, Turin, fol. 11v, all three plans; fol. 12r, all five plans; fol. 12v, the plan in the lower center of the folio.

14. For example, in the Codex Saluzziano, fol. 11r, plan second from the left; fol. 11v, plan on the lower right; fol. 12r, the two full plans; fol. 12v, the plan in the lower center.

15. Also in the Codex Saluzziano, fol. 11v; fol. 13r, the two plans in the upper right.

16. Most of the buildings illustrated in the manuscripts are considerably larger, as evidenced by the great number of supporting columns, the length of the naves in relation to the transepts, the spacing of the columns, the size of the entrances, and the complex structural nature of the apse and transepts. While it would not be impossible to design structures that make scale determinations difficult (as was so often done in the next century) it is probable that the intercolumniation distances are intended to be governed by structural considerations

The plan of the building is a standard Latin cross with the nave divided into three equal bays and a choir and transept containing one bay each (Fig. 4). The plan is perfectly symmetrical about the longitudinal axis with the exception of the small sacristy to the south of the apse. The initial impression is one of order and consistency. By placing over Fig. 4 a tracing of the theoretical plan divided anthropomorphically into nine-and-a-third parts (Fig. 2) a correspondence is obtained that is too precise to be accidental (Fig. 5).

1. The entire building rests within a rectangle of 9 by 6 squares.
2. The transept arms in both of the plans are of the same width.
3. The naves in both plans are of the same width.
4. The circle of the crossing in the Francesco drawing corresponds in size to the octagonal dome of the church.
5. The distance from the center line of the nave to the exterior face of the nave wall equals the radius of the dome carried on the ring of columns.
6. The pilaster-wall-grid line relationships are identical to the manuscript plans noted earlier.¹⁹

The differences are:

1. The absence of the side aisles.
2. At the extremities of the arms of the transepts, the walls are inside module lines, rather than outside, but they are consistent in this respect.
3. The dome does not rest on a ring of columns.
4. Asymmetrical sacristy placement.
5. The hemicycle width at the apse indicated by the head is wider than the existing niche.

The correspondences are clear in every part except for the one-third-module at the west front.²⁰ Could this mean there were a series of steps leading down which were intended or have since been covered or lost? Or is this another example of Francesco's procrustean adaptation?

The west elevation of the building presents a façade that is divided in three vertically. Uniform string course and entablature heights are used throughout the building. The west front is surmounted by a pediment, while the two arms and the apse are covered by a hipped roof. The whole is surmounted by a pointed octagonal dome set on an octagonal drum.

When the anthropomorphic design for a façade examined earlier (Fig. 3) is placed over this façade the height to width ratio is identical (Fig. 6). The manuscript drawing is for a somewhat smaller church and the door size is, correspondingly, much larger. Accordingly, the architrave, frieze, and cornice in the theoretical drawing occupy far too large a portion of the façade of Santa Maria delle Grazie. However, the regulating lines determine the following:

was carried on after him by Pietro di Domenico who completed the dome in 1515.

¹⁹ See note 14 for manuscript and folio citation.

²⁰ It is this same extra $\frac{1}{3}$ module which caused Fran-

1. The height of the base, which is found at the height of the intersection of the lower circle and the two diagonals as Francesco instructs in the text.
2. The height of the top of the prominent lower string course.
3. The height of the top of the main cornice. Also, the main cornice and frieze together equal one-half module (that allocated to the frieze in the manuscript drawing).
4. The rise of the pediment is exactly one unit.

Perhaps the grid determines some of the following also:

1. The door is a standard 1:2 ratio but the height and consequently the width may be taken from the diagonal lines.
2. The cornice of the pediment is one-quarter module high instead of one-half module, but since the entablature of the building is about one-half the size of the one in the manuscript drawing this may be a justifiably noted correspondence.
3. The placement of the circular window may have been intended to coincide with the module line at its lower extremity.

If one labored over the point, many more correspondences could be alleged. The admittedly variable nature of Francesco's method of design might make such a comparison deceptive and the attempt foolhardy. For instance, the upper circle in the manuscript drawing is apparently there only to form a logical whole, and on the façade it determines nothing. Likewise, at the points where one would expect something to occur—such as at the intersections of the two circles or at the intersections of the circles and the diagonals in the middle region—nothing happens. Although the placing of the circular window, the secondary cornice, and the height of the arch over the doors may not have been determined from such a drawing as this, the correspondence of the theoretical drawing and the actual project indicate a very close relationship. The degree of correspondence is about all that should be expected of Francesco.

III

The definable correspondence between the architectural theory and practice of Francesco di Giorgio gives a clue as to the standard practices of the fifteenth century. Francesco di Giorgio was certainly not an architect generously endowed with talent, and any indication about his methods should shed light on everyday practice. It cannot be denied that the family of building forms and proportions of the last half of the fifteenth century indicate some geometrical or mathematical method was used in their creation. A great many studies have been made which attempt to show by constructions with right and isosceles triangles, root

cesco to alter awkwardly the column spacing in the last bay of the $9\frac{1}{3}$ -face height plan. He never knew what to do with the extra $\frac{1}{3}$ module, and perhaps it was ignored in this plan.

triangles, golden sections, etc., how the main proportional lines of the building were derived.²¹ The constructions usually entail a number of decisions about the placement of the regulating lines, and more often than not there is a conscious fudging of certain parts to make the building fit the rule. Were there distinguishable ratios, proportions, and geometrical figures used in the buildings?

Francesco di Giorgio presents, with his own drawings, what may be one solution to the problem. He used a mathematically coherent system in a highly flexible way. While Francesco's procrustean method of adapting the figure to the method indicates little regard for what should be the "perfectly proportioned" human figure, he exhibits an equal disregard for the precise application of his abstract method to an actual building. The geometrical construction is not superior to the building and serves merely as an aid to determine proportionality. Proportionality becomes something which is dependent at its inception on geometry and arithmetic but final adjustments are made by the eye of the architect and do not depend on the abstract rules of the compass.

21. The following is a partial listing, in chronological order, of attempts at proportional derivations: A. Thiersch, *Handbuch der Architektur*, IV, 1, Stuttgart, 1883; G. Dehio, *Ein Proportiongesetz der antiken Baukunst und sein Nachleben in Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Strasbourg, 1895; L. Denina and A. Proto, "La real chiesa di San Lorenzo in Torino" *Architettura italiana*, Turin, 1920; Jay Hambidge, *Dynamic Symmetry*, New Haven, 1920; F. M. Lund, *Ad Quadratum*, London, 1921; Jay Hambidge, *The Parthenon and other Greek Temples; Their Dynamic Symmetry*, New Haven, 1924; Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture*, Paris, 1924, pp. 58-62; M. Borissavlievitch, *Essai critique sur les principales doctrines relatives à l'esthétique de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1925; Robert W. Gardner, *The Parthenon, Its Science of Forms*, New York, 1925; Jay Hambidge, *Elements of Dynamic Symmetry*, New York (c. 1926); Arthur Butler, *The Substance of Architecture*, New York, 1927; Julien Gaudet, *Éléments et théorie de l'Architecture*, Paris, n.d.; G. Giovannoni,

All other architectural theorists of the century also spoke about mathematical derivations of proportions. There is a general agreement in the fifteenth century that proportions are not created by individual taste but are the result of an envisioned congruency of mathematics, music, and the laws of nature itself.²² Architectural harmony derived from mathematics or from the human body would reflect the all-inclusive harmony of the universe. Did these architects also pay lip service to an intellectual doctrine while in practice relying on visual judgment to make final decisions?

The flexible way in which Francesco utilizes these immutable relationships may suggest how fifteenth century architectural writings should be interpreted and may help explain the difficulty in finding consistent, logical systems that were employed by architects. Francesco did not follow his theoretical teachings in a doctrinaire manner but felt that "although [the façade] owes its height to [the measure of the body] it can be decreased somewhat or increased at the choice of the artisan."²³

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Saggi sulla architettura del Rinascimento, Milan, 1931, p. 12ff.; Theodor Fischer, *Zwei Vorträge über Proportionen*, Munich, 1934; Marcel Texier, *Géometrie de l'Architecture*, Paris (1939?); Robert Gardner, *A Primer of Proportion*, New York, 1945; Matila Ghyka, *The Geometry of Art and Life*, New York, 1946; Bruno Zevi, *Architettura e storia-graphia*, Milan, 1950, p. 51; George Jouven, *Rythme et Architecture*, Paris, 1951; Charles Funck-Hellet, *De la proportion* . . . , Paris, 1951; Cesare Bairati, *La simmetria dinamica*, Milan, 1952; M. Borissavlievitch, *Le nombre d'or*, Paris, 1952; and *idem*, *Traité de l'Architecture*, 2 vols., Paris, 1954.

22. This is the major thesis of the book by R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, 1952. See also, e.g., Alberti, *op.cit.*, IX, v, vi.

23. Promis, *Trattato*, p. 101.



BOOK REVIEWS

HERMANN SCHNITZLER, *Rheinische Schatzkammer*, Düsseldorf, L. Schwann 1957 (Baltimore, Md., Helicon Press), Pp. 38; 166 pls.—10 color. \$35.00.

This is a book about Rhenish church treasures and their place in early mediaeval art, written around fifty-two choice works. While it consists largely of a collection of plates—for which the text volume is promised sometime this year—it is sufficiently complete to be used as an independent study and worth examination as such. In most essential respects, the promised text is both anticipated and committed here. This is so mainly because of the detailed catalogue which is here included, fixing the position with respect to critical analysis and attributions from which the author must proceed. Another reason lies in the fact that the introduction presents outlines of the broad historical terms in which the author proposes to relate the monuments in a larger synthesis. Of course the primary purpose of this volume is the visual presentation of the treasures, and in this aim it is highly successful.

The selection is based on historical, technical, and aesthetic considerations. On the historical side the examples range from early Christian through late Ottonian art. Technically, they include media of characteristic diversity: ivory carvings, manuscript painting, goldsmith and silversmith work, bronzes, enamels, and textiles. Most of the important types of church treasury pieces—book-covers, manuscripts, reliquaries, crowns, crosses, chalices, altar frontals, and chancels—are represented.

Each object is shown in a number of large plates, printed in fine halftones from excellent photographs. (I am told that these two-hundred-odd illustrations were chosen from four thousand photographs taken over a period of six months under the author's direction.) They include so many different views and details that the collection affords both a valuable source for study and a pleasurable visual experience. In one instance there are as many as twenty reproductions of an object. The plates convey the character of the works and the qualities of their material with unusual skill. Especially commendable is the subtlety with which surface character and translucence of cloisonné enamels are revealed. This collection offers better and more thorough coverage of the chosen examples than are available in any single comparable book. For the most part these include well-known masterpieces, such as the Limburg Staurothek, the ivory comb of St. Heribert, the Aachen Pala d'Oro and Chancel of Henry II, the Trier St. Andrew reliquary, the great Ottonian crosses at Essen, and a number of the most famous manuscripts. For these excellent photographs, deserved credit is given to Ann Bredol-Lepper of Aachen.

Ten color plates are included, based largely on photographs by Pater Frown-Oslender of Maria Laach. An additional color reproduction is found on the dust-jacket and it is so fine that we can only regret its omission from the book. In general the color is rather good and, at times, exceptionally so. Considering that the Codex Aureus of Echternach has been so recently and well published in color and black-and-white plates (Peter Metz, Munich, 1956) the space given to seven plates from the same manuscript in the new book might, in part at least, have been given to more neglected examples. Exception should be made for the plates given to the gold and ivory cover of the Codex Aureus since the new photographs are superior even to those in the monograph. Technical flaws among the plates are few but that only makes them more conspicuous. This happens in the reproductions of two miniatures from the Hitfred Gospels (pls. 53, 54), which are blurred. As that manuscript plays no visibly significant part in the book, the plates might well have been omitted or replaced—unless, of course, the coming text volume should prove them somehow necessary.

The introductory essay is divided into seven "chapters" of which the first deals with the character and fate of the Rhenish treasures, followed by a chapter on early Christian art of the Latin West and the East Christian orbit. The oldest work associated with the church treasures is the Probianus diptych, used as a cover for the manuscript of the *Vita Ludgeri* at the St. Ludger Abbey of Werden. Understandably the most meager section is that on the pre-Carolingian and Merovingian period. After a fourth chapter, devoted to Carolingian examples and almost entirely given to manuscripts, the remainder of the introduction deals with the great diversity of Ottonian works. Happily the plan of this book does not exclude Byzantine art, the importance of which for Ottonian and later schools was considerable. But it is to a certain degree incongruous that the only major example from Byzantium is the Cross Reliquary in the Limburg Domschatz. This is undoubtedly a remarkable work and beautifully reproduced, but its relevance actually bears upon developments which lie outside the scope of the book, since it reached Germany in A.D. 1208, as loot from the fourth crusade.

No doubt the introduction will prove interesting and instructive to most readers. Its greatest strength and authority lies in the chapters on Ottonian art, which constitute the largest proportion of the book. To the discussion of the earlier material, however, exception may be frequently taken. Among the early Christian monuments, for instance, there is an overly one-sided accent on attributions to Egypt. The Werden pyxis of the Nativity is a case in point, for this is said to be an Egyptian product of the sixth century, supposedly close to the Maximianus Cathedra and related ivories. But the pyxis is manifestly dissimilar to the Cathedra reliefs both in degree of classicism and in the kind of powerful and fluent modeling of the Nativity scene. It is symptomatic of the difficulties posed by the pyxis that Volbach gave it a fifth century date and hesitated to specify any localization (*Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spät-*

antike und des frühen Mittelalters, Mainz, 1952, no. 169). The pyxis deserves fresh examination for more convincing comparisons and, I think, the possibility of Constantinopolitan origin which seems indicated by its style and iconography. Another example of this kind is the Trier ivory of a religious procession, which the author discusses as an Egyptian work although the catalogue, at least, does indicate by a word, the alternative of Constantinople. It is possible that in the text volume he may explain his reasons for rejecting the latter attribution by Volbach and others. Of course the author does not stand alone in such views, but we have a right to expect that in a book which selects so few works for such close visual scrutiny, fresh critical appraisals might also be offered.

The unique instance of works from collections in this country is that of a fifth century ivory diptych in the Metropolitan Museum showing St. Peter and St. Paul. Whether or not the inclusion of this piece is justified—from the point of view of importance or need, in view of an abundance of early material—may be debatable. But the casual statement connecting the Metropolitan plaques with Romanesque sculpture of Toulouse and northern Spain cannot be taken very seriously. Such similarities as might appear at first glance are most superficial and completely outweighed by profound differences.

Another work in this country, discussed but not reproduced, is the famous upper cover of the Lindau Gospels at the Morgan Library (M. 1). Surprisingly and oddly, this is dated to 960-970 in spite of reasonably unanimous opinion favoring a ninth century date. That this is not a typographical error in the book is shown by the specific comparison made between the Morgan cover and the older Mathilda cross of the Essen Münsterschatz. Miss Harrsen, in her recent re-examination of this manuscript and all of the vast literature around it, finds no reason to doubt that the gold cover "is contemporary with and was executed for this manuscript," at St. Gall, during the last quarter of the ninth century, in the time of Abbot Hartmut (*Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1958). Related to this question in Dr. Schnitzler's argument, is that of the origin of the well-known golden Madonna of Essen, which he connects with the same workshop that made the earlier Mathilda cross, in Cologne. The stylistic comparisons upon which these relationships depend leave this reader, at least, unconvinced of the grouping or the localization proposed.

The most important and extensive part of the book is its catalogue, arranged according to the sequence of Rhenish centers covered in the study and the key to the sequence of the plates (Treves, Mainz, Echternach, Limburg, Cologne, Aachen, Essen, and Werden). Under each item there is a description, critical discussion and bibliography. The content of this part of the text, as well as its form of presentation, follows very closely the pattern of the exhibition catalogue for *Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr* (Essen, Villa Hügel, 1956). There is nothing unusual in this since Dr.

Schnitzler was a member of the Essen committee as well as author of several sections of the 1956 catalogue. Both publications are closely related in content too. Quite plainly, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* offers a concentrated study in a selected area of the Essen presentation and to this there can hardly be any objections—on the contrary it was to be expected that the exhibition might lead to further interest and scholarly publications.

What is strange, however, is the author's reticence about this connection. The fact is that all but nine of the fifty-two pieces in the book are to be found among those of the Essen catalogue. The book gives proper bibliographical reference to the catalogue for only nineteen of those forty-three objects which were also at Essen. The oversight is especially curious if we note that the analytical text is substantially the same in both publications. I do not suggest any impropriety in this, for there is none, nor is this a plea for ritually exhaustive bibliography. The point is that for whatever improvements the book does make over the exhibition catalogue, there are many undesirable changes and omissions entered under items which do not cite the catalogue. A number of descriptions fail to give important inscriptions found on the pieces (items 4 and 32), and one shows minor carelessness in the transcription (item 14). Manuscript signatures and museum catalogue numbers, intermittently cited, are omitted in a number of instances where they had in fact been given in *Werdendes Abendland* (items 11, 16, 20, 23, 29). Changes in dating and localization are often at variance with the 1956 catalogue—and there is no reason why this should not be so—but they are now simply asserted with little comment if any, and most often without mentioning the earlier publication.

Everywhere we find inconsistent practice in citations or omission of bibliographical matter under items which were in the Werden catalogue. Among the relevant books which are never mentioned at all is Hanns Swarzenski's *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London and Chicago, 1954) deserving of note because of variant opinions of date and origin of monuments treated in *Rheinische Schatzkammer*. For the many objects still preserved in Essen, the useful little book by H. Köhn, *Der essener Münsterschatz* (Essen, 1955), should have been quoted under the appropriate items. The same is true for Joseph Braun's *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der vorgotischen Zeit* (Munich, 1922) especially since it includes at least a dozen of the same pieces. A complete inventory of omissions would make for a tedious report. Much more to the point would be an examination of the individual entries for special studies of particular objects; but here we may give only one example to suggest that the "catalogue" of *Rheinische Schatzkammer* is probably not definitive in this respect. For the Lothair cross, the eponymous carved rock crystal has been studied recently (together with other pieces in this rare medium) in a paper by Julius Baum ("Geschnittene Bergkristalle") in *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst in den Alpenländern* (Lausanne, 1954). As to the use of antique

gems and cameos in this and related works, it is still worth mentioning W. S. Heckscher's "Replicas of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Setting" (*Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1938).

For the convenience of students and owners of the new book I am appending a list of the missing *Werdendes Abendland* references, giving them as "W.A." numbers immediately after the corresponding items of the *Rheinische Schatzkammer* catalogue;

1.(W.A.292)	22.(W.A.445)
3.(W.A.257)	23.(W.A.456)
4.(W.A.436)	25.(W.A.450)
9.(W.A.426)	27.(W.A.460)
10.(W.A.430)	29.(W.A.247)
12.(W.A.412)	32.(W.A.392)
13.(W.A.437)	33.(W.A.266)
15.(W.A.296)	35.(W.A.380)
18.(W.A.439)	47.(W.A.336)
19.(W.A.441)	48.(W.A.335)
20.(W.A.285)	50.(W.A.489)
21.(W.A.443)	51.(W.A.332)

Dr. Schnitzler mentions a similar book on the Romanesque period which he plans to publish. Given the standards of photography and printing of his present book, it should make for another handsome volume. But if it is to have the lasting value which this ambitious format suggests, the catalogue should be more systematic and thorough.

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PAUL BOOZ, *Der Baumeister der Gotik* (*Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* 27), Munich-Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1956. Pp. 131; 24 illustrations. DM 16.

The study of Gothic methods of design is old and the literature enormous and often excessively long and complex. Mr. Booz' volume has the salient merit of giving a broad view of the problems in refreshingly few pages. He achieves this by presenting, not an encyclopedic array of documents, but reasoned conclusions, which he supports by rather carefully selected examples. At the same time, he introduces unpublished sources that must already have aroused the interest of many scholars. He has no new, all-embracing explanation of Gothic design. On the contrary, his argument is founded on the postulate that Gothic architects employed many different systems in drawing up their plans.

The first section of the book is devoted to the proposition that Gothic, and mediaeval, systems of design were geometrical in nature, rather than arithmetical. Booz could hardly have known the very recent abandonment of the strictly geometrical thesis in favor of one based

on the use of numerical proportions,¹ but his point is of the first importance. In its defense, he cites a few of the many texts in which geometry is specifically mentioned, and, more important, he notes the meagerness of arithmetical knowledge in the Middle Ages, the necessity of some formal education in acquiring more than a rudimentary control of reckoning, and hence its relative inaccessibility to the craftsman who entered his apprenticeship at the age of twelve or fourteen. Booz' evidence is drawn largely from the history of German education as outlined by Günther in 1887, and this characterization of Germany from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries still seems well-founded. It may also have been the case in Italy, where the Milanese had to consult Stornaloco in order to solve their problems. But the situation was not always the same everywhere. Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, in sixteenth century Spain, used both geometrical and arithmetical demonstrations, and apparently knew how to find the square root of two, although perhaps by the simple geometrical method of constructing a right isosceles triangle. And the three thirteenth-century Picard masters recorded in Villard de Honnecourt's manual could all read and write, showing some degree of education, if not of formal schooling. Simple reckoning was well known in the commercial cities of Italy and Flanders in the twelfth century, and after the mid-thirteenth, when translations from the Arabic had become common, a cry was sent up for the further translation of arithmetical treatises into French.² Booz' discussion of this fundamental point therefore seems oversimplified. Yet if the tradition of design were already a geometrical one in the Romanesque period, the new emphasis on arithmetic in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries may not seriously have affected the pattern of development. This does not, of course, mean that occasionally a gifted and educated man may not have worked out a design in which arithmetical proportions played a fundamental role, but it implies that such a design must have been exceptional and outside the general context of mediaeval traditions.

The second section is a brief résumé of the career of the master builder, who, in the absence of formal schools of architecture, learned by participation. Apprentices (*discipuli*) are attested in the late twelfth century and probably existed long before, although the author fails to emphasize sufficiently, at least to my way of thinking, that rigid regulations governing the advancement of masons were not widespread before the end of the fourteenth century, even in Germany. The third section concerns the privileges and duties of the master and the division of labor in the shop, once more, well-known subjects. In his discussion of the terms designating the master, however, Booz again fails to give the problem its due complexity and completely omits the famous Italian *opera*.³ It is, I think,

1. K. J. Conant, "New Results in the Study of Cluny Monastery," *Journal, Society of Architectural Historians*, XVI, 1957, pp. 3-11; O. von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, New York, 1956 (Bollingen Series, XLVIII).

2. See my "A Note on Gothic Architects and Scholars," *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, pp. 372, 375.

3. E.g., G. Salvi, *L'Operarius del Porto di Genova: Architetto o Amministratore?*, Genoa, 1934.

taken for granted now that all major ecclesiastical projects in the thirteenth century were referred to as *opera* or *fabricae*, and their directors as *magistri operis* or *magistri fabricae*, among many other terms. The problem that must be solved separately in each case is whether the director was a mason or the head accountant. And as one moves back in time, the documents become scarcer and less precise, generally until one is unable to reach a decision.⁴

The fourth and longest section forms the meat of the book. By way of introduction, the author discusses the numerous collapses of Gothic edifices and the frequent need for consultation of several "experts." He suggests that there really was no working theory of statics, such as is provided by modern engineering, and that the weakest points in the development of such a theory in the Middle Ages lay with the difficulties of arithmetical reckoning and the extremely slow progress made in this field. He then proceeds to the "model-books," starting with Villard, and notes the importance of authority, the *exemplum*, in the minds of the masons: Roritzer and Schmuttermayer are said to have used Peter Parler's system. Booz explains the present gap of 200 years after Villard by stating that few manuals are known to have existed and that reading and writing were not common, so the manuscripts were not indispensable. In an aside, he points out that some manuals were made, however, and that they were a poor place to hide the secrets of the trade, if, in fact, these existed at all; hence the explanation of the lacuna by secrecy is probably not valid. He then gives a concise survey of the manuals, from the unedited Alber-tina manuscript through Lorenz Lacher's *Unterweisungen* of 1516ff. He has also made use of a 1572 manuscript at Frankfurt am Main and another at Cologne (see p. 129). The remaining and larger part of this section is devoted to an exegesis of Lacher's system for laying out a plan and drawing the elevation from it, with comparisons at Milan (Cesariano) and Saint Petronio at Bologna. Francesco Terribilia's remarks, during the quasi-Milanese discussions at Bologna, in the 1580's, contain all three major points of Booz' argument, viz.: 1) geometrical figures were used in the design of the plan; 2) each architect preferred to make up his own, *al suo capriccio*; and 3) the elevation and plan were interrelated. I am advised that there is considerable evidence for the persistence of mediaeval methods of design in north Italy during the Renaissance, and the Bolognese texts should certainly be considered in this light. But Booz overlooks the implications of Martino Longo's phrase, "... tali esquisitezze mathematecali et musiche . . .", which suggests a contamination of the "older" by the "newer" methods, although proponents of the numerical proportion thesis in the Middle Ages may find this ammunition for their guns. It is capital, however, that the author should emphasize and expand his second point, that the system used at Milan is not the key to a general mediaeval system; that no unique system

(such as the one proposed by Ueberwasser and Velte?) seems to have existed, and finally, that each specific system was solely a means and was not invested with mystic numbers or secret keys.

The fifth section treats of mediaeval drawings. Like all of us, Booz is puzzled by the absence of graphic documents between the ninth and thirteenth centuries and reasons that they were made but have not survived, perhaps because there may have been no *Bauhütten* to preserve them during this period. He suggests they must have been of secondary importance, however, since several texts indicate that the architects of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had the ability to think the plan through in their heads. Unfortunately the texts he offers as evidence of the existence of technical drawings before the thirteenth century (hence excluding the "patronal" plan of Saint Gall) seem simply to involve the words, *descriptio* or *designatio*, *designator*, which could equally well signify full-scale methods, especially if geometrical procedures were used. He goes on to discuss the instruments used for drawings, the steps involved (preliminary lines, then final version) and the kinds of projection (orthogonal, with occasional isometric perspectives). The last few pages are devoted to a statistical survey of the drawings: half are plans, half are elevations, and sections are rare. The question of scale enters here. The author postulates that the absence of a scale key, on all but two remaining plans, means they were not working drawings; but since the systems by which the plans were evolved are geometrical in character, no working drawings were necessary. He lists the various scales of published drawings, which sometimes number up to five on a single design, and suggests that a study of local measuring units may clarify this anomaly.

The sixth section deals with the practical execution of the project, from pegs and cord, and the foundations and solidity of the site, to the transportation of materials and the execution of templates. Readers of Knoop and Jones, Harvey, Salzman, or du Colombier will find little new here. But Booz moves on to a very exciting demonstration of how templates for piers, mullions, and ribs are laid out according to Lacher's instructions, and corroborates and enlarges it by including material from the other fifteenth and sixteenth century texts. Together with three gables drawn according to Schmuttermayer and Roritzer, which are included in an appendix, this should prove to be the most valuable contribution of the entire volume. It is a clear and careful analysis of variant systems of design that would seem fully as important for the study of late Gothic architecture in Germany as the analyses of Roritzer's plan and elevation system. The book closes with a brief conclusion on the degree to which geometry served, rather than controlled, the mediaeval architect.

Mr. Booz' book is succinct and very down-to-earth, and it brings to light new and forgotten sources. Although it is largely concerned with German material,

4. Even the case of Jean Langlois at Troyes, in the 1260's, seems open to debate (E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Jean Langlois,

Architecte de Saint-Urbain de Troyes," *Bulletin Monumental*, LXVIII, 1904, pp. 93-108).

one glaring and almost inexplicable omission perhaps most noticeable to American scholars must be noted: not a single work in English is cited. In view of the number of American and English studies of vital importance to his thesis, one is forced to conclude that the author apparently does not read the language. While he probably would not agree with Frankl's interpretation of the "secret" of the mediaeval mason, he should certainly have cited him; Panofsky's explanation of Stornaloco's formula and Ackerman's analysis of the Milan texts would have provided him with a ready-made discussion of the section of this Cathedral, in comparison with which his own effort is most summary; Harvey's and Salzman's various volumes would have enlarged his sphere of enquiry into the activities of the architect and the repertory of extant mediaeval plans; Wittkower's presentation of Palladian ratios might have given him pause in his discussion of Bologna; and finally, Kubler's study of Rodrigo Gil would have provided a very nice confirmation of his conclusion about the presence of many diverse systems, and modified his other one about the ability of the late Gothic architect to reckon. That Maria Velte's study of the Roritzer system, in German, does not figure in the notes or bibliography was perhaps mere oversight.

In view of the author's apparent ignorance of English, it seems ridiculous to take him to task in a review which he may never understand. But one fundamental methodological point merits discussion. It is the danger of applying conclusions reached by the study of late Gothic sources to the study of earlier phases of this style. I have already had occasion to note this, with reference to Ueberwasser's and Velte's analyses of Villard's Laon tower plan.⁵ Lacher, as quoted by Booz himself, mentions the inauguration of a new scale of feet in the sixteenth century, a fact which is surely symptomatic of many changes, both in detail and in fundamentals, that occurred in later Gothic architecture. And just recently, M. Jean Gimpel has reinvigorated the old "minority" thesis, to the effect that the mediaeval guild system was, with rare exceptions, a late phenomenon, especially in the case of architects.⁶ Surely this evidence of change and modification should be constantly borne in mind, especially when one reasons from the known to the unknown, as in the case of "lost" drawings from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

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MARGARET RICKERT, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1954. Pp. 253; 192 pls. \$8.50.

5. Cf. ART BULLETIN, XXXVII, 1955, p. 63. While examining the manuscript in 1956, I was struck by the fact that Villard drew preliminary lines which are scarcely visible in the facsimiles. These show that he did not construct the drawing on either Ueberwasser's or Velte's pattern.

The task of writing a history of art spanning eight centuries is indeed a most difficult feat. It has been admirably carried out in this volume of the Pelican History of Art series dealing with the history of painting in Britain during the Middle Ages. While Miss Rickert has included in her survey wall paintings, panel paintings, textiles, stained glass, and tiles, her book is in essence a history of illumination in Britain from the seventh through the fifteenth century.

In chronological sequence the successive phases of artistic development are most methodically passed in review and illustrated by the outstanding pertinent examples in each period. Since most of the material incorporated in this survey has previously been studied in isolated areas, Miss Rickert's work represents a synthesis of scholarly research in which her extensive knowledge and penetration of the field are ably demonstrated. Although the wealth of factual detail is somewhat overwhelming at times, it results in the most comprehensive treatment of the subject to date.

A noteworthy aspect of this survey is the emphasis on the interrelation among various forms of art in each period. Thus while tracing the principal developments in pre-Romanesque painting, Miss Rickert points out specific analogies with Anglo-Saxon metalwork by comparing, for example, certain objects from the Sutton Hoo treasure with the Book of Durrow in the Trinity College Library in Dublin (ms 57 [A.4.5]). A century and a half later (between A.D. 909 and 916) an embroidered stole and maniple in the Durham Cathedral Library are cited as early examples of the new, less formalized figure style evolved under Carolingian influence, a style developed to its culmination in the scriptoria of Canterbury and Winchester.

Another fundamental aspect of mediaeval painting in Britain emphasized throughout by Miss Rickert is the constant influx of foreign influences. In the early Romanesque period, for instance, a more painterly concept of figure representation was derived from Continental sources, particularly from Rheims. The infiltration of Norman elements after the Conquest is clearly reflected in the increased interest towards the end of the eleventh century in historiated initials and the elaboration of foliate ornament through the extensive use of clambering human figures. A dominant influence in twelfth century painting was that of Byzantine art, so clearly reflected in the renowned Albani Psalter written between 1119 and 1146 at St. Albans and now preserved in the Library of St. Godehard at Hildesheim. The further effect of Byzantine influence is also clearly apparent in the Winchester Bible begun about 1160-1170 (Winchester Cathedral Library) which Miss Rickert terms "the giant of twelfth century English manuscripts."

Although foreign influences, especially from France,

6. J. Gimpel, "La Liberté du Travail et l'Organisation des Professions du Bâtiment à l'Epoque des grands Constructions gothiques," *Revue d'Histoire économique et sociale*, XXXIV, 1956, pp. 303-314.

continued to exert some influence on thirteenth century English painting, their effect was not as marked as in the earlier periods. More characteristic of the painting of this time is the innate English preference for linear representation expressed on a monumental scale in the work of Matthew Paris and Walter of Colchester at St. Albans and in the magnificent series of Apocalypses, outstanding examples of which were produced at St. Albans and Canterbury. On a smaller scale one finds the propensity for linear design in the superb floor tiles executed for Westminster Abbey and Chertsey Abbey towards the middle of the century.

In the realm of illumination the influence of monumental wall paintings is clearly reflected in the full-page Bible series which generally preceded the magnificent Psalters produced in large numbers throughout the course of the thirteenth century. At the same time, however, there developed a vivid interest in detailed initial and border ornament which gave great impetus to the animation of foliate extensions and margins by means of grotesques. This pronounced preference for rich ornamentation continued into the first half of the fourteenth century and became one of the dominant characteristics of East Anglian painting. It is well exemplified by the lavishly illustrated Psalters produced at Norwich, Peterborough, Bury St. Edmunds, and York as well as by the exquisite embroidered ecclesiastical garments known as *opus anglicanum*.

In her account of the painting of this period Miss Rickert enters a field in which she obviously feels completely at home. Nevertheless, one might question the inclusion of the Queen Mary Psalter (British Museum, Royal Ms 2 B VII) with the East Anglian group on the basis that certain of its stylistic and iconographic features "connect it, in some unexplained manner, with the Peterborough East Anglian style." As for her frequent allusions to the influence of Belgian and north French illumination, the absence of specific comparisons leaves the exact nature of this influence somewhat doubtful. Far clearer, on the other hand, is the discussion of the International Style and of Netherlandish elements in English painting of the fifteenth century. The work of John Siferwas and Herman Scheerre is particularly well described and Miss Rickert's attribution of a full-page Crucifixion miniature in the A. Wyndham Payne collection to the hand of Herman Scheerre marks a significant original contribution.

A general criticism of Miss Rickert's book as a whole concerns the method by which she has attempted to span her vast topic. While a full treatment of such problems as iconographic derivations, patronage, the effect of religious movements or contemporary opinions was obviously far beyond the scope of the present work, some acknowledgement of their existence would have served to amplify the text. The itemized listings of the significant names, dates, and events at the beginning of each chapter do not fulfill their intended purpose since they are for the most part not integrated with the survey of artistic development.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that Miss Rickert has indeed achieved a monumental task. One could

not wish for a more comprehensive factual account of the major landmarks of medieval painting in Britain. Its completeness and accuracy should render it most serviceable as a textbook in any college course on manuscript illumination even though the wealth of descriptive detail, at times extending to minute color analyses, occasionally becomes somewhat cumbersome. The author's predilection for clarity and precision is reflected to great advantage, however, in the excellent footnotes and appended glossary. The generous number of illustrations, all but a few of exceptional quality, contribute further to the usefulness of this volume.

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PETER BRIEGER, *English Art, 1216-1307* (Oxford History of English Art, iv, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. 299; 97 plates; 23 figs. \$11.50.

For many years there has been a dearth of general works on English art, and now suddenly there is a rash of them. The Penguin series has divided the material by subject, thus producing books on the histories of painting and sculpture, while the Oxford History of English Art has chosen to divide the later Middle Ages into periods of roughly a century each and to include all the arts set against their historical and social background. The second approach seems the more difficult as few scholars encompass all the arts of a given period and must necessarily gloss over the details in the lesser known areas. Yet the series has produced four remarkably fine volumes to date, including T. S. R. Boase's treatment of the years 1100-1216 and Joan Evans' work on the art from 1307-1461. The fifth volume *English Art 1216-1307* by Peter Brieger has now appeared to fill the gap between the other two and to complete the picture of the late Middle Ages in England.

The book maintains the very high standard set by the earlier works of the series. Into its 274 pages is packed a wealth of information based on wide reading and research, and the author has not been ashamed to note the lacunae in our knowledge and the legitimate question marks that still exist regarding such men as Elias of Dereham. The material has been soundly divided not only by categories of art forms, but also with reference to the types and changes of patronage during the thirteenth century. It is in this shift from the patronage of the bishops who fostered the "episcopal style" to that of the king and court and finally to that of the "seigneurs" that one is treated with glimpses of the historic background and the importance of the interrelations of all the arts with such dominant figures as Robert Grosseteste, who not only saw to the building of major parts of Lincoln Cathedral but designed schemes for the four winds drawn by Matthew Paris.

There is perhaps for the American reader a bit too much emphasis on the movements of each bishop

around the English see and the resultant architectural work under his tutelage. Such mentions as Fulk Bassett, a provost of Beverley (p. 48) and Prior Melonsby of Durham (p. 54) seem to add little weight to the text and only help to confuse the general reader by making the more important names less noticeable. This is far more apparent in the opening of the volume, which is somewhat overcrowded with fact, than in the later two thirds, where the author seems to have found for himself a more suitable pace and style.

The importance of Wells Cathedral for English sculpture of the thirteenth century has been stressed by all writers on the subject. However, the thin drapery style of Wells is not, as Gardner already pointed out, unique to England, and it finds its counterpart stylistically not only in France, but all over the continent. Its occurrence in other parts of England, therefore, is not so much an evidence of Wells influence as a reflection of a common taste of the period, and Professor Brieger's insistence on Wells as the fountain-head is a bit overpowering.

The English preoccupation with unique or odd iconographies is perhaps most noticeable when comparisons are made with Continental art. There are a number of instances pointed out by Professor Brieger, such as the cross-legged attitude of kings and judges (see also the Salvin Hours, pl. 82a); the triple-headed angel to whom Abraham offers refreshment (pl. 67b); the headless Trinity of the Trinity College Psalter (pl. 25), and the Lothian Creator (pl. 20). No less interesting are the eagle-headed figure of St. John in the Bible of Robert of Bello (pl. 21a), found also on the pectoral cross of the eleventh century in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Margaret Longhurst, *English Ivories*, pl. 16), and the unusual mocking of Christ, where he is blindfolded, yet crowned, holding the Gospels, and giving the blessing (pl. 85a and 87)!

This volume and the others of the series dealing with the later Middle Ages will do much to dispel the widely held beliefs that mediaeval art is anonymous, and that the self-consciousness of artists evolved with the Renaissance. There are innumerable references to architects and overseers of buildings, the painters of Henry III, and master craftsmen like Walter of Durham, who created the Coronation Chair. Professor Brieger illustrates a sensitive drawing by a follower of the Matthew Paris tradition of Christ of the Apocalypse (pl. 55), which is not only signed by the artist, "Brother William of the order of Minors, the companion of St. Francis, second in that order, holy in conversion, English by birth" but on the back of the thin vellum is the following note: "Nothing more is to be written on this page lest the image be injured, as the parchment is transparent, and it can be seen better if held up to the light."

As in the other volumes of the series, the plates are excellently chosen and finely reproduced. There are

ninety-seven in all and twenty-three text figures, with a few poor ones, such as the Chichester roundel and the Westminster Annunciation Group. The majority, particularly the architectural illustrations, show unusual and varied views, rather than the standard over-reproduced cuts, and there are many interesting juxtapositions like the existing rose window in the south transept of Westminster Abbey and the floor tile with a rose window from the chapter house, or the unpublished Coronation of David from the Psalter in a New York private collection with the Alexander figure in the style of Matthew Paris.

The labeling of the plates is not, however, up to the standard of the Joan Evans volume in the same series. The lack of dates below the cuts is a serious omission in a general work, and some plates, like number 20 of the Lothian Bible, are so poorly labeled that one cannot even look them up in the index, as the location of the book and its call number are not given (though they may be found in the list of plates at the front of the volume).

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.
*The Cloisters, Metropolitan
Museum of Art*

LIESELOTTE MÖLLER, *Der Wrangelschrank und die verwandten süddeutschen Intarsienmöbel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Denkmäler deutscher Kunst, herausgegeben vom Deutschen Verein für Kunsthissenschaft), Berlin, 1956. Pp. [xii] 194, Frontispiece (in color), 41 text figures, 199 figures on plates. DM 60.00.

I must begin by offering apologies to author and publisher as well as readers that this review of one of the most important iconological and art historical works and at the same time one of the most pleasant ones to look at that have appeared in recent years, has been unduly delayed. I might add, by way of consolation, that many of my readers must, in the mean time, be in possession of a copy, while some will have seen that the specialists in the field of historical furniture have given the book substantial praise.¹ This relieves me, to a point, of the task—*plus fort que moi*—of entering into a discussion of the important problems of attribution and stylistic analysis.

Dr. Lieselotte Möller's book consists of two nearly equal parts, of ten chapters each. Part one is devoted to the monographic treatment of the tantalizingly beautiful intarsia cabinet known (from the name of its seventeenth century owner) as *Wrangelschrank*, a work that made its appearance some eight years ago when it was acquired by the Landesmuseum of Münster (Westphalia). Part two represents an attempt, no less enterprising, to place the cabinet into its setting of related *objets d'art*.² The thrill of the charting of a vast field of hitherto unknown artistic expression, with a reach far

1. Cf. e.g., Josef Ringler's review, *Tiroler Heimatblätter*, xxxii, 7/9, 1957, p. 108. A forthcoming review by Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, will, as the author kindly informs me, express equally favorable impres-

2. Part two, chap. 2, which is devoted to the craft with its multifarious techniques, the guild-problems, as well as division of labor, is a must for every student of art history.

beyond the South German confines, is sustained throughout the book, which on twenty-five pages of its *catalogue raisonné* lists for the first time more than 80 works of this curious genre, the majority of which are shown in reproduction at the end.

The learned apparatus further consists of a succinct bibliography and a listing of (widely scattered) places of preservation along with their published catalogues, and it ends with an exemplary and highly instructive index.

Unavoidably some of the reproductions had to be got at second hand so that the quality of the plates is not always nearly as good and distinct as one would have wished in a work of such absorbing interest.

As Miss Möller indicates, objects of this kind are hardly ever signed (pp. 78f.), so that we have to accept with gratitude the few primary data furnished by the *Wrangelschrank* itself, the *Hausmarke* (of the unidentifiable master carpenter responsible for the intarsia) along with the date 1566. This enables her to show that the *Schränk* represents the climax within the relatively short years—ca. 1555 to ca. 1575—in which one can speak of an unfolding of the specifically Augsburgian intarsia technique, a technique that makes the most of grain and color of almost exclusively native woods, undyed (except for green).

The result is, in the best cases, the rendering with myopic precision of a wealth of two and three dimensional shapes, of subtle linear designs, and even of plastic shading (engendered by means of burning with hot sand). The final achievement, nowhere as successful as in the *Wrangelschrank*, never quite ceases to be pure ornament, while, at the same time, it never quite ceases to puzzle the beholder with the expectation that somewhere there must be a hidden meaning that would account for the odd yet disciplined array of recognizable as well as abstract shapes.

The stylistic development of cabinets, writing desks, and related pieces of furniture, as we can trace it in this limited space of time (hardly that of a generation), extends from the Madrid chest, dated 1555 (Cat. No. 2) (in essence nothing but a robust and tectonically rich piece of Renaissance decoration, in its planning strongly reminiscent of the ephemeral triumphal arches and gates of the *entrées* of the middle of the century), via the *schreibtisch* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated 1560 (Cat. No. 3) (in which the tectonic detail has largely been shed), to finally the *Wrangelschrank* of 1566. In this latter piece, as far as the intarsia is concerned, all is illusion—an illusion created on a series of panels which like a smooth skin cover the simple cubic shape of the closed piece of furniture. Only when opened does the cabinet reveal its set of eight historical battle-reliefs. These are flanked by engaged alabaster columns³ which, arranged in pairs, enclose imitations of Roman imperial portrait medallions. Impressive as this main-façade may be, there cannot be any doubt that the real importance rests with

the cabinet in its closed state. It is here as Dr. Möller has demonstrated that the South German intarsia style has reached an absolute and unrepeated height. It is with amazement that one learns that the intarsia-masters on the one hand proudly felt themselves at the winning end of a *paragone* with the painters, while on the other hand it seems that more often than not the original design (*visierung*) was in the hands of a painter (Part two, chap. 2).

Miss Möller is the first scholar who has been able to show on purely stylistic grounds that while other important places (Ulm, Tyrol) were engaged in colored wood intarsia, Augsburg must, notwithstanding their extensive contribution, be regarded as the primary center. The Augsburg of the sixteenth century is a city which cannot fail to exert its magic attraction on all lovers of what one may call mechanical perfection coupled with gifts of almost limitless fantasy. Its history has yet to be written. Dr. Möller's work is, as far as I am aware, the first modern attempt to establish one facet of this reputation by means of her lucid *exposé* of that city's intarsia production. In view of the fact that the documentation of just the crucial years is decidedly meager, her achievement in sorting out, in dating, in interpreting the eighty odd artifacts, turns out to be all the more impressive.

I should like to draw the reader's attention to the particular method of research employed by Miss Möller. Over and over again it will be noted how she arrives at the fixed points or islands that constitute as a whole the basis for her argument by means of a careful step-by-step elimination of the impossible (however tempting). She thereby reveals herself—consciously or unconsciously—as a faithful disciple of Sherlock Holmes, who based his method on the supposition that "when you have eliminated all which is impossible, then whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth." Let me illustrate this with a few samples gathered more or less at random: It would have been tempting to credit Hans Waldner with the woodwork of the *Wrangelschrank*, since Waldner was the collaborator of Alexander Colin (whom Dr. Möller proves to be responsible for the historical reliefs) (pp. 27f.); in a highly informative two-page discussion, Miss Möller eliminates this candidate. She might either have left the question of who commissioned the cabinet in the air, or have followed the commonsense lead of suggesting a Habsburg commission; yet, we are led by convincing steps to the Archduke Ferdinand II as the most likely candidate (pp. 34f., 100). The conceivable relationship to related anticlassical art forms which might superficially be lumped together with the *Kunstwollen* of the intarsia master (such as, e.g., anamorphoses) (p. 36) is denied, as energetically as the possibility of a carryover from the ornamental style current at the time in South Germany (p. 54). Names of highly reputed intarsia artists are amply available at the right place and time (p. 62); no one would have

3. See now the excellent contribution by Erik Forssman, *Säule und Ornament. Studien zum Problem des Manierismus*.

, Stockholm, 1956; especially the bibliography of original sources, pp. 239-251.

blamed the author if she had picked one of them in connection with the *Wrangelschrank*. Dr. Möller is even prepared to debunk the much vaunted (direct) influence of the well-known Lorenz Stöer (p. 67), because there is no demonstrable evidence for his having made intarsia designs.

This method *per negationem*, which peels as it were out of its sweet but untrustworthy *integumenta* the bitter but wholesome kernel of truth, we encounter in conscientious application in nearly every chapter. It instills great confidence since it appears in the service of the different legitimate approaches of the art historian and this at a point where there are danger signals that art history and iconology might part ways. And it is finally encouraging to see such circumspect care exercised in the investigation of a work of art that belongs preponderantly to the field of ornamental furniture.

Few scholars are as well equipped to this task. Dr. Möller, who is trained in the finest German museal tradition, that of Erich Meyer at Hamburg, may at the same time claim to be one of the last products of the schooling of Erwin Panofsky and of the Warburg Library at Hamburg. Her previous publications give ample evidence of this dual interest of which the *Wrangelschrank* is a first great synthesis.

The reader of the *Wrangelschrank* will find, scattered throughout both parts, a series of useful descriptions of the entirety and of significant parts of the intarsia scenes. As the author quite rightly stresses, the world of these fantasies differs from either that of Jerome Bosch or that of Arcimboldo (p. 36), because the intarsia master makes use of all kinds of natural and possible shapes (both *artificialia* and *naturalia*) which he then projects in strangest proportions (the giant birds) and states (the ruined giants or the animated, swathed torso) into what is best described as a theatrical space.⁴ In the course of this projection, the law of gravity is at times suspended. The space, firmly secured by its ornamental frame work and yet curiously elusive (probably because it lacks atmosphere), is charted into depth by structures of that ruined type which never allows the decay and destruction to reach a degree where the original stereometric form is no longer recognizable. On the contrary, every effort is made to stress and reveal the primary forms of all objects. One of the most striking impressions of the policy of inversion is the animation of the inanimate (and its reverse). The practice is very common in the sixteenth century, and one wonders whether Vesalius' dramatized skeletons and muscle-men and their popular imitations in the third and last quarter of the century might not have stimulated this procedure.

It is self-evident that the reader of a work of such scope will at times feel like arguing certain points.

4. We should have expected a hint at Giulio Camillo's *L'idea del teatro* (1550) in which, according to Julius Schlosser (*Die Kunsliteratur*, Vienna, 1924, p. 215) "die allegorische Schreinerarchitektur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts" is first announced; see now Richard Bernheimer's important study: "Theatrum Mundi," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVIII, 1956, pp. 225-247.

Personally, I should have wished to learn more about the role of the cabinets and *schreibtische* in relation to the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*. As the author herself shows, the *Wrangelschrank* was almost certainly not only part of such a *Kammer* but itself a cabinet *en miniature*, destined to shelter a collection of classical coins. From here arises the question as to the significance of the world of ruins, surrounded by highly intricate cylindrical involutions (*Walzwerk*) and peopled by giant birds, normal to miniature quadrupeds and anaemic *putti* with the articulated joints of manikins. Since Dr. Möller stresses the *vanitas* aspect and its sway over the entire intarsia genre to the exclusion of all other themes, one begins to wonder whether this is not one of the few instances where we catch her, unconsciously to be sure, bending the nail to be able to hit it on its head.

While the historical battle scenes, the medallions and the trophies of the inner façade are clearly in keeping with the presumed purpose of the *Wrangelschrank*, it might be argued that the intarsia panels are essentially an extension of the same apotheosis of the venerable past. The one unquestionably human figure—characteristically nothing but a pale two-dimensional design of a knightly halberdier—might well have been designed as a guardian of the treasure that lies, as it were, buried in ruins.

Finally one might, here and there, question some of the iconographic conclusions in regard to detail: The bitten apple on one of the inner panels can indeed be taken as a *vanitas* symbol.⁵ However, the aggressive bird so close to the apple may just as well point a moral of greed. On pp. 37 and 44 Dr. Möller describes the jellyfishlike quality ("Verwesen zu qualliger Materie") of the ruinous giant, which quality I cannot, with the best will, see in this sharply fragmented shape. The draped torso, already referred to, surely has no relationship whatever with the tiny figures in the ornamental engraving by Cornelis Bos (text figure 24); those are the type of idol (one of them clearly an Egyptian mummy) that one encounters in the curio collections of the time. Dr. Möller suggests that the musical instruments which play a prominent part in the intarsia vocabulary, are pointers in the direction of *vanitas*. Yet, it seems that the instruments shown should rather all be interpreted *in bono*. Above all the lute (p. 93), although its ambivalence is granted, clearly belongs to the other objects of perfect stereometric shape. Traditionally the lute is regarded as the ideal emanation of divine perfection on earth. This idea could lead the Dutch metaphysician Jacobus Revius (1586-1658) to a sonnet entitled *Schepping* ("Creation"). Here the poet envisages the Lord producing the music of the spheres on a lute "with learned fingers."⁶

5. For the connection of the bitten apple with the Fall of Man, see now Ingvar Bergström, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XXVI, 1-2, pp. 1-20 *passim*.

6. Moreover harp and flute, as they occur in Amsterdam, (Cat. No. 68) are anything but *vanitas* instruments, while Orpheus amidst the animals (Cat. No. 59) is either a humanistic theme or serves as an allusion to Christ.

Dr. Möller's account of the possible and probable sources of inspiration for the *Wrangelschrank* and its entourage in parts and in their whole is, again, a delight to study. This writer should have liked to see references to the triumphal arches of the *entrées* which, incidentally, pass through a development from pure Renaissance to high Mannerism that closely resembles that of the changes in structure of intarsia cabinets and *schreibtische*.⁷

At this point of my review it is almost needless to stress that the book is one of the most useful contributions to the phenomenon of Mannerism.⁸ Its strength lies in the competence and methodical discipline (not to speak of the originality) with which the author has singled out one prominent work of its genre. The historical documentations as well as the stylistic analyses are of singular beauty. It is refreshing, moreover, to read an art historical book in the German language that is presented in crystal-clear prose. All the more so as just the manneristic phase has recently been exposed to a kind of obscurantist parlor game treatment in which extremely dubious (and what is worse: extremely fruitless) parallels have been drawn with surrealist art. Dr. Möller, barring the odd "Bestürzung," "Unruhe, die Form gefunden hat," "das 'Verrückte' der Erscheinungen," or vague hints at "protomoderne Züge," has luckily steered clear of this mixed blessing.⁹

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INGVAR BERGSTROM, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, Inc., 1956. Pp. 330; 239 figs.; 8 color pls. \$17.50.

Dr. Bergström's book was originally published in Swedish, under the title *Studier i holländskt stilleben-måleri under 1600-talet* (Gothenburg, 1947). The decision to bring out an English edition was a happy one; and we must be grateful to the translators for the care that they have taken to produce a clear and very readable text.

This is a work of capital importance and a monument of scholarship. Not only does it present a com-

7. See, e.g., Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1956; especially the development from the *entrée* arches of Charles IX to those of Henri II.

8. To mention one detail: the author's excellent philological summary of associated and allied terms—"verschrot[t]en werck," "allusive representation" = (i.) intarsia; (ii.) emblemata—assures the marquetteries a place close to *ars emblematica*, itself one of the most characteristic innovations of the sixteenth century (p. 148); and yet, this parallelism does not trick her into a facile emblematic interpretation of the intarsia (which lack one of the integral parts of the emblem: the motto) (p. 63).

9. The reader will be familiar with H. Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte*, Salzburg, 1948 and with G. R. Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth*, Hamburg, 1957. While no one will deny that the Surrealists discovered Mannerism (or at least certain

prehensive survey of Dutch still life, but it is also full of illuminating insights into Dutch seventeenth century painting in general. Style and iconography are both treated with masterly perceptiveness, so that we are given an unusually well-rounded account of the subject. The book is generously illustrated with 239 half-tone cuts and eight plates in color, and there is an extensive bibliography.

Comparison of the two editions shows that a few changes have been made. A short epilogue has been added, and the illustrations are generally superior in quality to those of the Swedish edition. A painting by David Bailly, previously known only from a wood engraving, is now reproduced from a photograph (fig. 135), the original having been rediscovered in the meantime.

It is one of Bergström's merits that he is fully alert to the symbolic implications of still life.¹ He thus shows how, even as early as the fifteenth century, "certain artists were attempting to separate the customary symbols from the religious scene and to give them an independent existence as a symbolical still-life." And this symbolic connotation, as he rightly insists, still survives, though often in hidden form, in Dutch still-life painting of the seventeenth century. We misinterpret the art of the Baroque era if we do not perceive that its naturalism is colored by a fundamentally spiritual meaning.

In an "Historical Introduction" the author examines the antecedents of Dutch still-life painting in earlier Netherlandish art, beginning with the rise of Flemish naturalism in the early years of the fifteenth century. The moralizing pictures of Quentin Massys, and more particularly of Marinus van Roemerswael, are shown to contain features which will reappear in the *Vanitas* still life of the seventeenth century. Similarly, the Dutch fruit-piece may be regarded as an outgrowth of the "symbolic meal" found in early representations of the Virgin and Child. The same separation of the symbol from the original religious context can be seen in the still-life elements painted on the backs of portrait panels of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A section of special interest is that devoted to Pieter Aertsen and his pupil Joachim Beuckelaer, whose paintings made so important a contribution to the development of still life. Their influence, it might be added, was not only

aspects of it) as their supposed grandparent, this assumption—nonsensical, factually speaking—is of interest only for those concerned with the history of Surrealism. It seems unscientific, to say the least, to reverse this argument by using Surrealism as a key to Mannerism.

I am not sure about the validity of Dr. Möller's interpretation of the term *künstlich*, as referring to artful *invenzione*; the examples cited by her point, I believe, rather in the direction of *künstlich* as referring to the mastery of *Kunst*, i.e. art theory based chiefly on mathematics, as opposed to *Brauch*, i.e. the mere craft or guild aspects.

1. See also his article, "Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still Life," *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, 303-308, 340-349.

felt in the Netherlands: the early *bodegones* of Velázquez, e.g. the London *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, are unquestionably derived from kitchen-pieces such as those by Aersten and Beuckelaer, probably through the medium of engravings. Not the least important of the various antecedents of still life are the illuminated manuscripts; the "scientific naturalism" displayed by the Flemish illuminator Georg Hoefnagel directly foreshadows the detailed observation of the Dutch flower-painters.

The first chapter, "The Earliest painters of Flowers and Fruit," is chiefly concerned with the work of four pre-eminent masters: Jacques de Gheyn, Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, Roelandt Savery, and Balthasar van der Ast. The first three, being immigrants to Holland from Flanders, are also featured in Marie-Louis Hairs' monograph on Flemish flower-painters of the seventeenth century.² Bergström is able to demonstrate, by a careful analysis of flower-pieces by De Gheyn and Bosschaert, that the artists did not paint from actual bouquets, but that their works were "put together like a jig-saw puzzle, the pieces of which were individual studies of flowers." This practice helps to explain the additive character of the early flower-piece, in which each part is given equal importance, without subordination to an overall effect. A similar convention is to be observed, the author reminds us, in early Dutch group-portraits.

Contemporary with the painters of flowers and fruit in the first decades of the seventeenth century are the early masters of the "breakfast-piece" (a translation of the Dutch *ontbijt*), who are the subject of Chapter II. This type differs from the fruit-piece chiefly in the inclusion of table utensils, such as jugs, goblets, and knives. The composition is again additive, the various elements being evenly distributed without regard to focal interest. Bergström believes that the type may already have existed as an independent form during the later sixteenth century, although no surviving examples are known from that period. In Haarlem, breakfast-pieces were painted by Nicolaes Gillis and Floris van Dijck. Van Dijck, it might be noted parenthetically, visited Italy around 1600, and in Rome became a close friend of Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino. He was thus able to supply up-to-date information concerning such artists as Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci to Carel van Mander, whose *Schilder-Boeck* was published at Haarlem in 1604. Breakfast-pieces were also produced in Antwerp, by Osias Beert the Elder and the woman artist Clara Peeters, who worked for a time in Holland.

Chapter III is concerned with the development of the breakfast-piece after 1620. In the stimulating atmosphere of Haarlem, where landscape and genre-painting were also flourishing, the breakfast-piece took on a new form. In the works of Pieter Claesz. we can follow the gradual abandonment of the additive type and the emergence of the *monochrome banquetje*, with

its simpler and more unified composition and more intimate content. The monochrome tendency, as Bergström emphasizes, is also perceptible in other branches of painting in Haarlem at this moment, like the landscapes of Van Goyen and the genre-pieces of Brouwer and Ostade. The art of Claesz. finds its complement in that of his contemporary, Willem Claesz. Heda: where Claesz. exhibits an essentially bourgeois outlook, depicting simple food and pewter vessels, Heda is more aristocratic, and delights in costly plate and *façon de Venise* glass. A section of special interest is that devoted to the Amsterdam painter Jan Jansz. den Uyl, whose vigorous and monumental still-life subjects may well have exercised a decisive influence on the Haarlem masters, Claesz. and Heda, and their following.

The fourth chapter offers a brilliant account of the *Vanitas* still life, which flourished from about 1620 to 1650, and had its principal center in Leyden. The author stresses the literary and moralizing content of the theme, and draws analogies to the poetry of Vondel and Cats, as well as to the emblem-books of Roemer Visscher and others. Among the painters, a significant role was played by David Bailly, who produced a *Vanitas* still life as early as 1624, and who, as the master of Harmen and Pieter Steenwyck, was probably the leading figure in the development of the theme. Even Rembrandt introduced elements of *Vanitas* iconography into certain paintings of the Leyden period. His pupil, Gerard Dou, also cultivated the *Vanitas* theme: in his hands it became an illusionistic still life, suggesting the influence of Italian *intarsia* decoration.

An entire chapter is devoted to the fruit- and flower-pieces of Jan Davidsz. de Heem and his followers. De Heem's oeuvre might almost be said to summarize the whole development of Dutch still-life painting of the seventeenth century. His earliest works, done in Utrecht, were fruit-pieces in the manner of Van der Ast. In Leyden, where he lived for some years, he turned his hand to *Vanitas* subjects. During the early 1630's he painted a few "monochrome" breakfast-pieces in the Haarlem style. But the important event in his career was his move to Antwerp in 1636, which brought him into contact with the leading Flemish masters of still life. Here he developed a type of opulent and monumental "banquet-piece," in which the influence of Frans Snyders and Adriaen van Utrecht is effectively conjoined to his native Dutch tradition. Other still-life subjects reflect close study of the Antwerp flower-painter, Daniel Seghers. For De Heem, as Bergström stresses, is a "Dutch-Flemish artist," whose work thus offers "a synthesis of the styles obtaining in the Northern and Southern Netherlands." He is a significant figure in still-life painting of the later seventeenth century, and his brilliantly decorative manner was widely imitated in both Flanders and Holland. De Heem's lasting influence can be illustrated by the fact that the fruit- and flower-piece continued to be produced even after the other genres of still life had

2. M. L. Hairs, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVII^e siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1955. See the review by the present

died out. This late phase is splendidly represented by Willem van Aelst and, after 1700, by Rachel Ruysch and Jan van Huysum. In the works of Van Huysum, still the best-known of all the flower-painters, the light and graceful quality of the Rococo is plainly evident.

The fish-piece (itself a derivative from Joachim Beuckelaer's market scenes) is a minor category in Dutch still life—rather surprisingly, in view of the importance of the fishing trade in Dutch life. Among the finest examples are those of Abraham van Beyeren, who (the author observes) "must be said to have animated such unpoetic material as dead cod, flat-fish and ray in a most remarkable way." Van Beyeren, a very gifted artist who enjoyed only a small reputation during his lifetime, did not restrict himself to fish-painting, but also produced banquet-pieces, flower-pieces, and other types of still life.

The Dutch game-piece, painted for a wealthy society which included hunting among its pastimes, began to flourish only in the 1640's (although its origins can be traced back, once again, to the kitchen scenes of Aertsen and Beuckelaer). Bergström distinguishes two main types. The first, or "national," type is painted in a "monochrome" style with a few elements simply arranged, and is thus analogous to the later breakfast-piece. Rembrandt was one of the earliest painters to treat the theme: the *Still Life with a Bittern*, formerly in the McIlhenny Collection in Philadelphia, is dated 1637. Abraham van Beyeren and the landscapist Salomon van Ruysdael also painted game-pieces of this sort. The second type is more colorful and decorative, and incorporates influences from Flanders and Italy. The leading masters were Jan Baptist Weenix and Willem van Aelst, both of whom had visited Italy; they were followed by such artists as Melchior d'Hondecoeter and Jan Weenix, son of J. B. Weenix.

The growing wealth and luxury of Holland from the mid-century onward, which are reflected so vividly in the genre painting of the period, are no less perceptible in the ornate and aristocratic forms of still life, be-

ginning with the banquet-pieces of De Heem. Closely allied to the banquet-piece is the *pronkstilleven*—the "magnificent" or "ostentatious" still life—with its glittering show of rich and costly vessels. The great master of this branch is Willem Kalf, who, with his pupils and followers, is the subject of the final chapter. Bergström shows convincingly that Kalf's teacher was not Hendrick Pot (as Houbraken states) but François Ryckhals; from Ryckhals he acquired an interest in peasant interiors as well as the still-life subjects for which he is best known. Kalf's still-life paintings fall into two groups: those done in Paris, which are generally restless and complicated in grouping, and represent precious and elaborately wrought objects; and those of his second Dutch period, which are simpler and more concentrated in design, and show certain analogies to Jan Vermeer of Delft.

One of the dangers in writing a book of this kind is that it may become little more than an uncritical catalogue of artists, dates, and works of art, owing to the sheer volume of material that must be covered. Bergström has successfully avoided this danger. At no point has he allowed a passion for mere completeness to obscure the achievement of significant individuals. Three masters—Jan Davidsz. de Heem, Abraham van Beyeren and Willem Kalf—receive particular attention, each being the subject of a chapter. Their followers and imitators, on the other hand, are treated much more summarily. Even in those chapters which deal with a whole branch of still life (e.g., the *Vanitas* type), interest is still focused on the really creative figures, the innovators and artists of superior talent. It is this critical sense that enables the author to single out such gifted masters as Jan Jansz. den Uyl, who might otherwise be passed over in a careful enumeration of "painters of the later breakfast-piece."

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